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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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VOL. XIII. No. 51.
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 19, 1904.
PRICE TWO CENTS 50 CENTS PER YEAR.

## THE WORKINGWOMAN

### Can She Live Contentedly On Fifty Cents a Day? Women of Leisure Asks.

According to a plate-matter article just making its round through the capitalist papers the Englewood (Ill.) Women's Club recently discussed the following topic: "The Working Woman; How Can We Help Her?" when one Mrs. Coonley Ward made a plea for a simpler life, and one Mrs. Corinne Brown in answering her brought up the fifty cents a day topic.

"If the leisure classes would share the burden of the working people and live more simply," declared Mrs. Ward, "the conditions of the working people would be greatly bettered. The extravagance in overdress by the leisure class is what causes a great deal of the misery in the working class. The poorer try to imitate those who dress extravagantly, and this effort to imitate eats away their wages. If women would not be so prodigal in dress the working women would be better off."

Mrs. Brown and Dr. De Bey took issue with Mrs. Ward and wanted to know if she could live on fifty cents a day and be happy.

"I could live on fifty cents a day and possibly be happy in the tropics," declared Mrs. Ward, "where the demands of fashion are not so great."

"I could not live on fifty cents a day and would not," declared Mrs. Brown. "If anybody told me I'd have to, there'd be 'something doing.'" Mrs. Brown said the working woman could best be helped by being given better wages, taught independence, and the value of organization. She said it was the duty of all women to stick by the working woman in her fight for higher wages. "Higher wages is the chief ingredient of happiness. Money is the surest path to happiness," said she.

After having read the above and reflected on the farces enacted by the "leisure classes," men and women both, to "do something to help the poor"—"the deserving poor," as it sometimes is significantly put—I recalled a quotation I once saw, from Tolstoi, that "we are willing and anxious to do anything for the poor with the exception of getting down from off his back," or something to that effect. But let us examine a few of the above arguments.

The plea for a simpler life may be all right when made for hygienic reasons; but when made as a measure for bettering the condition (the economic condition) of the workers it looks kind of out of place. Why should "leisure class" women have scruples about spending lavishly the money which their husbands, fathers, and brothers are doing their level best to squeeze out of the workers for that very purpose? If they can approve of the manner in which that money is made, they certainly ought not to have any scruples about how to spend it.

Fifty cents a day is little enough to live on even for a working woman, let alone one belonging to the "leisure class." And yet there are, in this land, thousands upon thousands of families who are compelled to subsist on even less than that.

Of course, we know that no "leisure class" woman with her brains and her desire for enjoyment in working order will ever attempt to live any simpler and cheaper out of mere solicitude for the poor. All their professed solicitude and their agitation of that kind is only a sham affair—very much as the debates and discussions carried on merely for practice and entertainment in high schools, colleges, etc.—their chief purpose being to make the workers satisfied with the pittance they receive in return for their incessant toil, to which the following from the same article will amply testify:

"A woman can be happy on fifty cents a day if she has contentment of mind and sweetness of spirit," declared Mrs. Le Grand Lockwood. "Education should simple and sweetens our lives. It should give us enjoyment of what we have, no matter how little it is, and not make us miserable."

Mrs. Lockwood urged that the best way to help the working woman was to teach her contentment, to be happy with her lot.

For these "leisure class" women, as they style themselves, to prescribe to the workers how to live contentedly on as little as possible, while they, the "leisure class," themselves and their husbands, are never contented, no matter how much work they receive for the pittance they pay the workers, is the very acme of audacity, equalled only by their general solicitude for the poor.

The capitalist or "leisure class" women are as much the enemies and tormenters of the workers as their masculine class-fellows. That they are in a position to better wear the cloak of a feigned solicitude for their toiling fellowmen than their men folks, ought not to deceive anybody as to the true object of all their so-called benevolent work, that of shielding the robber system of capitalism,

(Continued on page 6.)

## SOCIALISM OR THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

BY EMIL VANDERVELDE IN "THE INDEPENDENT"

In the United States, where religion is a private matter, an affair of conscience, where no religious sect dominates, or pretends to dominate, others, it must be difficult indeed to realize the bitterness of the contest that rages in most of the countries of Western Europe between the Roman Catholic Church and its opponents. It is not alone in France that this contest grows in intensity.

During the last few years throughout Western Europe there has been a marked reaction toward clericalism. The Catholics have organized themselves into powerful and well-disciplined parties. The covert authority of the convents, which had been abolished by the Revolution, has been developed under new forms, and religious associations have attained a greater control over education, while the political influence of the Church since the beginning of the pontificate of Leo XIII. has made itself felt on all sides.

In our little Belgium the Conservative party, made up in large part of the supporters of the Church, has been a power for the last nineteen years. In the Netherlands the majority in the States-General (the two legislative houses) belong to a truly extraordinary coalition of Catholics and Protestants—of disciples of Loyola and of Calvin. In Germany the Centre (the Catholic section of the Reichstag), though its declines in influence among the working class, appears more and more the hub of the Government majority. Protestant Conservatives pay their court to it; while the Lutheran Emperor betakes himself to Rome to bow before the Pope. In England, where frequent conversions to Catholicism are loudly advertised, and where the Established Church reveals a growing disposition to imitate the Roman Church, Mr. Balfour's Ministry grants equal appropriations to all the religious sects in the Education bill and makes important concessions to Rome in order to conciliate the Irish Catholics.

In short, all the countries of Western Europe, in Germanic or Anglo-Saxon as well as in the Latin countries, clericalism gains, or at least seems to gain, ground. When in the minority its opposition becomes more aggressive; when in the majority, or holding the balance of power, its domination waxes heavier.

But, by a natural reaction, anti-clericalism, which had been relegated to the background on account of the pressure of socio-industrial issues, has again appeared, and is spreading in every direction. In France, in Italy, and even in Catholic Spain, the old cry of "A bas la calotte!" resounds on all sides. The veterans of former battles return to the ranks. The youth are divided again into Catholics and anti-Catholics.

But it would be an illusion to believe that nothing is changed, and that the reviving struggle between the clericals and the anti-clericals has the same meaning as had that of the epoch of Pius IX. and his syllabus. First of all, it is clear that since the rise of Socialism the efforts of the Catholic Church are not directed against the same enemies as of old. From having defended the nobles and the kings of "l'Ancien Regime" against the liberal, republican, revolutionary middle class, it turns to-day to defend the middle class, which has become conservative, and even reactionary, against the assaults of the Socialist proletariat.

Fifty years ago Catholics denounced Liberalism as "a pest and a frenzy!" To-day clericals chant the "Marseillaise," since it has become, through strange vicissitudes of things, the national hymn. Clericalism calls itself liberal when, as in France, it is the minority. It disdains, or, at most, uses the Liberals when, as in Belgium and Holland, it is in the majority. But always any everywhere it attacks Socialism, and by cunningly encouraging the fears which Socialism inspires in the classes which have property to lose, it succeeds in holding its old positions, and even advancing to further ones.

It would be a great mistake—and far-seeing Catholics have no illusions on this subject—to suppose that the present revival of clericalism means an awakening of religious faith, even among Catholics. Doubtless a certain number of persons of conservative religious instincts, fearing the logical consequences of rationalism, return to the Church, and by interpreting symbolically the old articles of faith, construct a new creed, which contents them. But these are only superficial drifts; they are but eddies of the great tide that bears the people of Europe in a diametrically opposite direction.

One of the heads of the Belgian Catholic party, M. Woeste, acknowledged this in an article published some time ago. "The Roman Church in Europe may gain voters," he says, "but it continues to lose souls." Even in Belgium, where the Church reigns through intermediaries; where the Government, in its complete subservience, chooses magistrates and functionaries, imposes religious teaching in the schools and grants appropriations as authority and wealth command, there is no doubt that the masses reveal a growing disaffection to the ecclesiastical power.

It is an indubitable fact that, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, Europe is decatholicizing herself. One might even go further with safety and say that she is dechristianizing herself. Slowly but surely, with the irresistible movement of a geological subsidence, faith is waning among the industrial workers, and even among the peasants. One can safely assert that about twenty years ago nearly every one held to some religious creed. Free-thinkers were few and to be found only in the middle class. Societies for promoting secular marriages and burials existed only in the larger cities. To-day we see them spreading and multiplying throughout the industrial centers, and wherever mining and manufacturing are carried on. In Belgium, in France, in Germany, the workmen who follow no particular creed number hundreds of thousands—yes, millions—and as their hopes of a heavenly kingdom dissolve other hopes assert themselves with a growing intensity. Wherever free thought penetrates, Socialism enters also. We know, it is true, many workmen who become Socialists without relinquishing, or without totally abandoning, their religious convictions; but, aside from "yellows" and "blacklegs," act solely from mercenary motives, we neither know nor can conceive of any free-thinking workman who is not at the same time a Socialist.

What wonder, then, that this conservative middle class, instinctively antagoistic to Socialism, should become more and more antagonistic to free thought! Just as the coming of spring in the mountains dissolves the glaciers and sends down floods of icy water, which cools the atmosphere of the lowlands, so under the sunshine of free thought the breaking up of the religious creeds of the proletariat chills the rationalistic tendencies of the middle class. Frightened by the socio-industrial consequences of free thought, an increasing section of the rich class leans toward the Church, and especially toward the Catholic Church, which is regarded by all as the strongest bulwark of the capitalists' interests. The terror of revolutionary ideas drives this section to at least the pretense of believing; and sometimes, thanks to the efforts of the Jesuits, it succeeds in inculcating belief in its children.

It is thus that the apparent clerical reaction is explained. Far from its corresponding to a general awakening of religious faith, it is, in fact, a corollary of the decline of faith among the masses. But it is, nevertheless, true that the alliance of priest and capitalist, the coalition of spiritual and temporal power, against Socialism and free thought, furnishes the conservative and reactionary parties with formidable means of action and constitutes the most redoubtable threat against the immediate future of European civilization. Progressists have not only clericalism to fight, but also, under different forms and labels, militarism, protectionist imperialism, and, in most countries, a marked tendency on the part of the sovereigns to enlarge their personal power to the detriment of the sovereignty of the people.

What else than proletarian power can we oppose to this reactionary power? Can we depend upon the middle class as a class, or on Liberalism as a party? Facts answer. In Belgium, in Holland, in Germany, the Liberals are terribly weakened; the fear of Socialism demoralizes them. It is only too often that the reactionary majority in the elections is due to their votes. In England the division and melting away of the Liberal opposition made possible the South African war, and rendered possible, if not probable, the success of Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal plans.

Justice forbids, however, to reproach English Liberalism as a body with the reactionary complaisance of the right wing. In France, too, there is a distinction to be made. The Republican middle class and the radical democracy do hesitate to accept the help of the Social Democracy in the fight against the Catholic Church by enrolling Millerand in the Ministry and electing Jaures Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that France is, above all, a country of bourgeoisie and small land holders. The industrial centers are far apart, except in the territory bordering on the Belgian and German frontiers. The organization of the working class is, therefore, comparatively weak. Socialism itself is often, in France, but the idealistic expression of an advanced radicalism. It thus seems natural enough that the middle class parties should not show it, but should be anti-clerical rather than anti-Socialistic. But let industry develop on a large scale, let the antagonism of the classes accentuate itself, let the French proletriat strengthen and extends its organization, and we shall see in France, as in the rest of Western Europe, the middle class facing about and asking pardon of the Church for the ills it has suffered through her.

Thus it is, in the Old World, that two gigantic coalitions are formed by the elimination of intermediaries—the Black International and the Red International. On the one hand are all those who hold that authority should descend from above and who find in the Catholic Church the most perfect expression of their ideal, the most inflexible guardian of their class privileges; on the other hand are those who insist that authority shall come from the people, and who, by the logic of circumstances, can found their hopes on nothing but Social Democracy.

Between these two extremes Protestantism hesitates and Liberalism shifts from place to place. One may see clearly the truth of the prediction that was made fifty years ago by the Catholic writer, Donoso Cortes:

"The Liberal school honors equally darkness and light. It has undertaken—extravagant and impossible undertakings—to govern without the people and without God. Its days are numbered. One sees already on the two opposite points of the horizon, the rising sun that proclaims God and the ominous cloud that announces the mad rage of the people. In the terrible day of battle, when the whole arena shall be filled with the Catholic and Socialist phalanxes, no one will know where to find the forces of Liberalism."

One may welcome or deplore the fact of this coming concentration of forces about the Catholic Church on the one side, the Social Democracy on the other. But none can deny that this concentration is inevitable, and that the future struggles will have to be fought out between these two armies. To those, therefore, who are interested in the social movement of Europe, we say: Observe, above all else, if you wish to consider only the essential factors, the political activities of the Roman Catholic Church and those of International Socialism.

Brussels, Belgium.

## BEBEL'S DRESDEN SPEECH

TRANSLATED BY GOTTFRIED OLLENDORF

(Continued from last week.)

It is really wonderful, but the fact remains: In the authoritative locations the sense of sympathy and of appreciation have been lost, one is not in contact with the soul of the party, one is not able to comprehend what happens. Have we ever in the forty years of the existence of the Party, faced a storm of indignation like the one in regard to this question? Of course mainly after Comrade Vollmar entered the arena and not only accepted the views of Bernstein, but also widened, deepened, justified them in his way. Vollmar likes to rise seldom, especially to a question of programme, but when he believes the hour has come to fight for a cause with his whole might, he proceeds in a certain solemn manner, exactly as if he were about to suddenly proclaim a new doctrine. (Hilarity and assent.)

So was it also in Munich. I thought the tale were already finished and it would be heard of only in the delegation. I said to myself then already: Now, for once, will you be able to sleep quietly. (Hilarity.) Then came from Munich the news of Vollmar's speech. The public appearance of Vollmar's in 1891 is still remembered; when in a speech at the Kolloseum he delivered his programme, for which he was highly lauded by the bourgeois parties. Then it was said: Yes, that is the only man in the party who knows how to feel the pulse of the times. The same as now. Particularly Herr Nauman, who sits in front of me, actually conjured him: "You are the man for the situation, descend from the Bavarian mountains, step to the front, the whole people will receive you with jubilations." (Great hilarity.)

But with the jubilations it was a little different. Certainly there was jubilation in Munich, but such is always there, when Vollmar arrives. (Hilarity.) Munich is the Capua of the German Social-Democracy. (Great hilarity.) In Munich nobody wanders with impunity among the beer bottles for any length of time. (Renewed hilarity.) In Munich the proudest pillars of the Party perish in time. Just take a look at this Parvius (hilarity) of whom, until lately, everyone would have sworn that he is a radical of the clearest water. To be sure, as a former radical, he went to pieces in a manner different from that in which fate would overtake a revisionist, still he did go to pieces. His fate was the same as that of many a one, who entered Munich as a brave, principled, stanch comrade—some of them I notice sitting at several tables. (Great hilarity.) After a few years of Munich they were broken in body and soul. These are my impressions and if I myself should make my home in Munich, I believe I would become afraid of myself. (Stormy hilarity.)

Vollmar's debut was not only by a majority of the Munich comrades received with fervent acclamation, but also, almost without exception, by the bourgeois press. (Quite right!) Gradually it has come to pass in our Party that certain cliques are surrounded by a corona of bourgeois journalists in the form of Corybantes. I do not say that they have been called for. No, they came out of their own free will, voluntary, to jubilate, to burn incense. Have I not read, but lately "Vollmar, the uncrowned king of Bavaria?" (Great hilarity.) Still the great majority of the Bavarian party does not care to listen to its uncrowned king regarding this question. (Hilarity.)

The attitude of Bavaria has pleased me very much. Bayreuth, just think Bayreuth, preceded and declared first against Vollmar's speech. It gave me a great deal of satisfaction. And it was the same in all the large cities of Bavaria. The bourgeois press declared: "The whole delegation to the Bavarian diet is of the same opinion as Vollmar," but a few days later comes our seventy-eight-year-old comrade, Gabriel Lowenstein, who is present as a delegate, and says "Not I!" (great applause), and Segitz promptly exclaims "Not I!" (Bravo!)

That Haller also deviates from Vollmar's standpoint was the only thing that could be expected. (Hilarity.) Only one, Franzel Ehrhart, the Palatine of the Rhine (uproarious laughter) has been silent until to-day. (Meister: "No, he also has said, he does not approve.") Is that so? I am glad. I thought (towards Ehrhart) you, too, were lost? (Great hilarity.) To gain an ally like you is worth a good deal. And this state of mind of the whole party (stormy assent) was not caused from above, but grew spontaneously from below.

I have not been the aggressor this time. As soon as he had spoken, also the entire party press, clearly and precisely took a position against Vollmar. It broke out on all corners. Through the whole of the Party there pierced from below one single cry of indignation. (Stormy applause.) Still, that has also been disputed. For example, Auer in the last number of the "Socialistischen Monatscheft"—the only publication he writes for now—the "Neue Zeit" does not seem to exist any more for him—says, in his well-known witty style, that a very trivial side issue has been boosted into a main and State affair, and that the ready applause within the party, probably is largely due to the circumstance that the excitement happened in the dog-days. I am satisfied that this is his honest, innermost conviction. But of no man in the Party do I regret as deeply as I do of Auer, that he should thus comment on incidents which prove that the soul of the Party has been set on fire. (Vivid assent.)

It is not true that insignificant causes are at the bottom of the fight; it is part as false as the other assertion, that the previous debates of this convention were a quarrel between journalists, while as a matter of fact these debates have caused the Party to tremble to its very foundations. (Commotion.) Such judgment can only affect him who has lost the very basis, has become a stranger to, the cardinal principle. (Quite hight!)

What does it mean, how does it happen, that Auer has not conceded the smallest import to these incidents? Certainly, therein he is right, that, as a rule, with us, the Party fights fill up the summer months, but this time we did not have any real dog-days. (Hilarity.) That we dispute in the summer has its reason in the fact that all of us, Party leaders and deputies, are active parliamentarily during the autumn, winter and until late into the spring, and thus have not the time until summer to reflect, to theorize and, if necessary, to controvert.

As far as the vice-presidential question is concerned, I have expressed my views fully in my article in the "Neue Zeit." This is not the place to go into details about it. I shall answer the attacks on my article, and hope to have the opportunity to do so later on. It has been said the case has its foundation in an erroneous conception on my part: Bebel believes in the existence of a conspiracy. This belief perhaps has been brought about by letters of mine to Auer (Auer: "These I did not read at all (commotion); which is my habit, while such disputes are in progress.") There are several of them, the writing of which was provoked by you some four or six weeks ago. (Auer: "Yes, yes!") And now Auer says he has not read these letters up to date. ("Hear. Hear!") That, I am glad to hear. I take my precious time to write to you on such an important affair—he also acquainted me with his view—and you don't read! ("Hear. Hear!") As I do not write letters for pleasure, I shall draw my inferences for the future. But no matter how the rumor of my belief in a conspiracy may have come into existence, among people of the same opinion a conspiracy does not need to exist; a mutual agreement comes by itself.

The moment Comrade Vollmar had spoken, his friends from all over rallied around him, and that was as it should be. Then came the contribution in the "Sachsischen Arbeiterzeitung," in Berlin. Heine supported Vollmar's view; Sudekum in Nurnberg, Dressbach in Mannheim, Kolb in Karlsruhe, even Gohre came with a long article in the "Chemnitzer Volkstimme." At that time one was not of the opinion that an unimportant side issue was in question. Only when the temper of the whole Party was in evidence, was it perceived that a bad brew had been mixed and, in order to avoid a defeat before the whole convention, there came from Furstenwalde (hilarity)—the Furstenwalder are good, brave comrades, but, begging their pardon, in the lead of the movement they are not—there came from Furstenwalde the well-known resolution which says: "Oh, that is nonsense; the vice-presidential question is a wholly insignificant affair." And soon there was echoed from all ends and corners out of which this had sounded before: "Now, must the Party participate in the government"—for this is the sense of Vollmar's speech—soon there was echoed this instead:

"Why, it is no cardinal, State question at all!" The retreat began. ("Quite right!") To be specific, only when it was evident that nine-tenths of the Party disapproved of Vollmar's standpoint, it suddenly was no more, a question of extension of power, but a very small, insignificant side issue; and simultaneously, in peculiar concert, appeared resolutions from all sides to the effect, that the convention should not take up this question.

Yes, if we were living on the other side of a Chinese wall, the case would be different. But it is not so. The whole world—and we can say so with a certain pride—looks on us, and every movement in our ranks in followed attentively by the whole of Germany. On the other side, all those who for twelve years, every few years at least once and during the last five years annually, have caused these dissonances, are praised—and justly so from its standpoint—by the bourgeois press and described as "the great, far-sighted statesmen," etc.

The intention is to actually praise the Party to pieces in this manner, as I have said already before. This has been done in forms and manners that I must confess has sometimes nauseated me. (Applause.) Certainly, this is not the fault of those concerned; it has not been caused by them. But if something similar should happen to me—still it cannot happen to me, and I am glad of it. As long as I am able to draw breath, to write and to speak, it shall not be different! (Great applause.)

I shall remain the deadly enemy of this bourgeois society and of this form of government, to undermine their conditions of existence, to do away with them, if I can. (Stormy applause.) It would thus be folly to expect, that the bourgeois press should praise me—but if I, like some of our comrades, would eevr become the object of such fawning, I would at least remonstrate and tell these people: "What concern of yours are our affairs? Worry about your own matters and keep quiet about ours. All your laudations are in vain and without result." That ought to have been said!

(To be continued next we

General Miles is being boome the Democratic presidential nomination. Hi Chicago strike-breaking record shoul "endear" him to every workingman.

## THE SCOTCH WORKMEN

### How They Organize in the Interests of the International Socialist Labor Party.

(From "The Socialist," Edinburgh, Scotland.)

To the "Socialist."

Comrades:—On returning to Barrow, after spending a most enjoyable fortnight's holiday among the members of the party in Scotland, I settled down to carry on the agitation with the object of organizing a branch of the Party here. Three weeks only have elapsed since I returned, yet I have to report progress even beyond my own expectations.

I set about getting readers for the Party organ, and, after getting them, I supplied them with back numbers of the paper, old copies of the "Weekly People," and all the leaflets issued by the Party. While delivering the January issue of the "Socialist," to the readers, I found many of them desirous of forming a branch. I accordingly gave each man a copy of the platform constitution and rules, and called a meeting for Sunday, January 17, at 3 p. m.

At exactly ten minutes past three on that day, a good number being present, the meeting was called to order by Comrade Abbott rising and suggesting that, in consideration of the object of the meeting, a chairman be appointed. Comrade Abbott, on motion, was elected to the chair, and after briefly explaining the object of the meeting, he called on the writer to address the meeting on the platform of the Socialist Labor Party and the principles of Socialism generally.

The writer upon rising thanked in a few words the friend who had that day accommodated us with a meeting place, when such a thing was so difficult to get. In addressing the meeting for over an hour, he traced the evolutions of society right from the period of savagery, through barbarism and primitive communism, into the feudal state. He went on to show how, at the close of the eighteenth century, the rising industrial bourgeoisie, aided by the proletariat, which was only then making its appearance, overthrew the landowning aristocracy, the then ruling class, and established their economic and political supremacy. The rise and development of the Socialist movement was touched upon, and the springing up of the Socialist Labor Party in America, France, Italy, Canada, Australia, and Great Britain, and its principles and tactics were dealt with at length.

In conclusion an appeal was made for those present to fall into line at once, and get a branch of the S. L. P. formed in Barrow. After some discussion and some questions had been answered, wherein the writer pointed out that Daniel de Leon, who had been twenty years in the movement, and the late William Liebknecht, who for fifty years fought in the ranks of the German proletariat, were two of those "young men" who maintained that "a straight line was the shortest distance between two given points." It was decided to ask the permission of the Executive Council of S. L. P. to form a branch. With eight of those present promising to take "The People" every week, a most successful meeting came to a close. I really intended to finish this letter right here, but, even at the risk of encroaching on your sphere, I must say a few words about local affairs. Barrow, besides being a town of mushroom growth, is purely a working class centre, and is practically kept on the map by one firm, Vickers, Sons, & Maxim's naval construction works to wit. Being well supplied with government contracts, the wage-slaves send a tory to represent them in parliament in order that the "good times" may continue. A "labor" man is putting up at the next election, supported by the local L. R. C., the Liberal and Radical Association, tory trade unionists, liberal trade unions, co-operators, the Barrow Socialists (?) Society, and the local "Social Demoquacks," in their capacity as "trade union officials." A new capitalist newspaper has recently made its appearance, run by the L. R. C., to support Charles Duncan, the "labor" man.

The editor of this thing is secretary of the above mentioned B. S. S., assistant secretary L. R. C., and for some years has served the capitalist class in their struggle against the working class as a newspaper correspondent. An S. D. F. "swelled head" has been elected president of the local trades council, "representing 8,000 trade unionists." He was also nominated by the council as candidate for next Board of Guardians election, but declined to stand. A large liberal meeting will be held here on the 28th, the S. L. P. will be on deck, with the "Socialist" and leaflets, as they will be on every occasion. I may say the "Socialist" and the Prize Draw tickets are going well. We have got the "Socialist" into one news agent's shop. We have got eight readers of the "Weekly People." Barrow will do its share to increase the size of the Party organ.

On with the Work.
Yours fraternally,
Ernest Hutcheson.

# The Pilgrim's Shell

—OR—

# FERGAN THE QUARRYMAN

A Tale From the Feudal Times

By EUGENE SUE

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH
By DANIEL DE LEON

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## PART III.—THE COMMUNE OF LAON.

### CHAPTER III.

### EPISCOPALS AND COMMUNIERS.

Fergan put on his casque, and presently giving his arm to Joan the Hunchback, as Colombaik gave his to Martine, and Quatre-Mains to his wife Simonne, the three couples sallied forth from Colombaik's tannery, followed by his apprentices, who, likewise were members of the Commune.

The rivalry of the bells continued undiminished. At intervals the bells of the churches intermitted their clangor, no doubt in the hope of having silenced the belfry. Its sonorous and regular peal proceeded, however, unchecked, and the clerical clangor was renewed with redoubled fury. The incident, puerile in seeming, but serious at bottom, produced a deep resentment towards the party of the nobles. It was a long distance from the tannery of Colombaik to the market-place, the rendezvous of the bourgeois militia. Large crowds blocked the streets, moving towards the communal Town Hall, that had been three years building and was recently finished. Only the casting and hanging of the bell in its campanile had retarded the inauguration of the monument so dear to the townsmen. More than once did Joan turn back to look, not without uneasiness, in the direction where her son followed with Martine, together with Quatre-Mains and Simonne. Joan's apprehensions were well founded. A large number of the domestics of the noble and clerical households were dispersed among the crowd, and from time to time hurled some vulgar insult at the communiers, upon which they would immediately take to their heels. Knights, clad in full armor, crossed and re-crossed the streets, their fists upon their hips, their visors up, and casting disdainful and defiant looks upon the people. These provocations increased particularly in the vicinity of the rendezvous of the militia, at the head of which, and armed as if for battle, the Mayor of Laon and his twelve Councilmen were to march in procession to the Town Hall in order to inaugurate by a solemn session the meeting of these magistrates, held until then at the house of John Molrain, the Mayor.

The market-place of Laon, like that of all the cities of Gaul. consisted of large stalls, where, on Saturdays, occasionally also on other days of the week, the merchants, leaving their everyday shops, exposed their products for sale. Outsiders and the suburb population, who drew their supplies from Laon, thus found at one place all that they might want. But on that day the market served as the gathering place for a goodly number of bourgeois and artisans, who had armed themselves to join the procession and impart to it an imposing appearance. In case of war, every communier was obliged to furnish himself with a pike and an axe, or club, at the first call from the belfry, and hasten to the rendezvous. As a rule the crowd seemed indifferent to the insolent gibes and provocations of the episcopals. The communiers, at least a majority of them, felt themselves strong enough to despise the challenges to riot. A few, however, yielded to a certain sense of fear for the iron-clad nobles, who were accustomed to the use of weapons, and with whom the Laonese, who owed their enfranchisement to a contract and not to an insurrection, had not yet had occasion to measure themselves. Finally and moreover, hardly freed from their rude and base servitude, many of the townsmen still preserved, involuntarily, a certain habit, if not of respect, yet of dread for people whose cruel oppression they had so long been subject to. Shortly, the captains-of-tens, commanding squads of tens, and the captains-of-hundreds, commanding companies of hundreds, all under the command of Fergan, who had been chosen constable, or chief of the militia, drew up their ranks along the stalls of the market-place. Colombaik was a captain-of-ten, his body was complete except for one lad called Bertrand, the son of Bernard des Bruyeres, a rich bourgeois who, three years previous, was assassinated in the cathedral by Gaudry, bishop of Laon.

"Probably," said Colombaik, "poor Bertrand will not join us to-day. This is a feast day, and there are no more feast days for the poor fellow since the murder of his father."

"Yet there comes Bertrand!" cried out one of the militiamen, pointing at a young man, who, pale, frail and sickly-looking, of a timid and kind appearance, wearing a steel casque and armed with a heavy axe that seemed to weigh down his shoulder, was approaching from a distance. "Poor Bertrand!" the militiaman added, "so feeble and wretched! He is excused for not having avenged the death of his father upon our accursed bishop!" Cordially received by his companions, Bertrand answered their solicitous inquiries with some embarrassment, and silently took his place in the ranks. The Mayor arrived soon after, accompanied by his Councilmen, some unarmed, others armed like Ancel Quatre-Mains, who joined them there. John Molrain, the Mayor, a man in the vigor of life and of a countenance at once calm and energetic, marched at the head of the magistrates of the city. One of them carried the banner of the Commune of Laon,—if the steeple of the people's belfries rose daringly in the teeth of the feudal donjons, the communal banners floated no less high than those of the seigneurs. The banner of Laon represented two embattled towers, between which rose a naked sword. The emblem signified: "Our city, fortified by walls, will know how to defend itself by arms against its enemies." Another Councilman carried in a vermillion casket, lying upon a silk cushion, the communal charter, signed by the bishop and the nobles, and confirmed by the signature of Louis the Lusty, King of the French. Finally, a third carried, also upon a cushion, the silver seal of the Commune, which served to attest the acts and decrees rendered by the town Council in the name of the Commune. This large medal, cast in bass relief, represented the Mayor, who, clad in his long robe and with his right hand pointing heavenward, seemed to be taking the oath, while his left hand held a sword with the point resting on his breast. "I, Mayor of Laon, have sworn to maintain and defend the franchises of the Commune: sooner die than betray my trust!"—such was the patriotic meaning of the communal seal, in short, "Liberty or death!"

When the city magistrate arrived, Fergan, who was issuing his last orders to the militiamen, saw a priest, the archdeacon of the cathedral, called Anselm, step out of the crowd. Fergan held the tonsured fraternity in singular aversion, yet greatly esteemed Anselm, a true disciple of Christ. "Fergan," whispered the archdeacon to the quarryman, "press your friends to redouble their calmness and their prudence, I conjure you. Prevent them from replying to any provocation. I can tell you no more. The time is short. I must proceed to the episcopal palace." Saying this, Anselm disappeared in the crowd. The advice of the archdeacon, a wise man, beloved by all, and, due to his office, in a position to be reliably informed, struck Fergan. He no longer doubted there was a conspiracy, secretly hatched by the episcopals against the Commune. Profoundly preoccupied, he placed himself at the head of his militiamen, in order to escort the Mayor and the Councilmen to the Town Hall. The obscure names of this magistracy, taken from Fergan's family archives, and over which he inscribed the exhortation: "May they be ever dear to your memory, ye sons of Joel!" were: John Molrain, Mayor. Councilmen: Foulque, the son of Bomar; Raoul Cabricoin; Ancel, son-in-law of Labert; Haymon; Payen-Seille; Robert; Remy-But; Menard-Dray, Raimbaut the sausagemaker; Payen-Oste-Loup; Ancel Quatre-Mains, and Raoul-Gastines.

The procession started amidst the joyful acclamations of the crowd, who enthusiastically shouted their rallying-cry: "Commune! Commune!" swollen by the sonorous peals from the belfry, the clerical clangor having finally ceased, due to the apprehension of the episcopals, lest the prolonged ringing of their bells was taken for their participation in the festivities. Before arriving at the place where the Town Hall stood, the procession defiled before the house of the knight of Haut-Pourcin, a large and fortified dwelling, flanked with two thick towers, that were joined by an embattled terrace, projecting above the door. Upon this species of balcony were gathered a large number of knights, clergymen, nobles and elegantly bedezined ladies, some young and handsome, others old and ugly. Among the least old of the latter and yet ugliest of all, the dame of Haut-Pourcin was conspicuous. A gaunt virago of about fifty, bony, of parchment skin, and of arrogant mien, she wore a violet cloak with gold buttons and a cape of peacock feathers; on her grizzly hair she had coquettishly fastened a chaplet of lillies of the valley in full bloom, like a shepherdess. The whiteness of her floral ornaments heightened the yellowish color of the dame's bilious complexion, a complexion, however, that was less yellowish than her long teeth. At sight of the procession, headed by the Mayor and his Councilmen, she turned to those near her, crying out in a sour and piercing voice that was distinctly heard by the communiers, the terrace lying only twelve or fifteen feet above the street! "Mesdames and messeigneurs, have you ever seen a pack of asses tramping to their mill with a more triumphant air?"

"Oh!" answered one of the knights aloud, laughing and pointing with his switch at the Mayor, John Molrain: "And look at the master-ass that leads the rest! How he prances under his furred saddle-cloth!"

"Pity his headgear conceals his long ears from us!"

"Blood of Christ! What a shame to see these Gallic clowns, made slaves by our ancestors, now carrying swords like us of the nobility!" put in the seigneur of Haut-Pourcin. "And we, the descendants of the conquerors; we knights tolerate such villainy!"

"Halloa, there, Quatre-Mains the baker!" yelled the dame of Haut-Pourcin in a squeaky voice, leaning over the railing of the terrace, "Seigneur Councilman, trotting cuckolded and content while armed for war! The last bread that my butler fetched from your shop was not baked enough, and I suspect you of having cheated me in the weight!"

"Halloa, there, Remy the currier!" added a bulky canon attached to the cathedral, "Seigneur Councilman, who are there loitering about, administering the affairs of the city, why are you not at work on the mule saddle that I ordered?"

"Oh, messeigneurs, there comes the cavalry!" exclaimed a young woman laughing and smelling at a nosegay of sweet marjorams. "Look at the swagger of the vagabond who commands his braves, would you not think he was about to hew down everything in sight?"

"Oh, messeigneurs, look at that hero yonder! Oppressed by his visor, he is carrying his casque front side back and his sabre on his shoulder!"

"And that one, who holds his sword like a wax-taper! Guess he is a Pope's soldier!"

"And yonder goes one who came near putting out the eye of his neighbor with his pike! What a ridiculous set! What silly people!"

"For heaven's sake, messeigneurs, are you not frozen with terror at the thought that, some day, we may find ourselves face to face and lance in hand, with this bourgeoisie, this formidable rabble-rout of shaven fronts, big paunches and flat feet?"

At first, patiently endured by the communiers, these insults, accentuated with outbursts of contemptuous laughter and disdainful gestures, ended, nevertheless, by irritating the more impetuous. Dull murmurs rose from the crowd; the procession halted, despite the entreaties of Fergan, who urged upon the militiamen the silence of contempt. Some threatened the episcopals with their fists, others with their arms; but their tormentors redoubled their gibes at the sight of such signs of irritation. Suddenly John Molrain, the Mayor, rushing to one of the stone benches, common near the doors of dwellings to assist riders in mounting their horses, jumped upon it, ordered silence, and addressed the crowd in a sonorous voice, that reached the ears of the episcopals:

"Brothers, and all those who have taken the oath of the Commune of Laon, make no reply to impotent insults! Let any dare attack the Commune with deeds and not with words, then will we, your Mayor and Councilmen, summon the offender before our tribunal, and justice will be enforced upon our enemies—prompt and energetic justice! Until then, let us answer all provocation with disdain. The resolute man, strong in his rights, despises insults. At the hour of judgment, he condemns and punishes!"

These wise and measured words quieted the excitement of the crowd, but they also reached the ears of the nobles, assembled on the terrace of the house of the seigneur of Haut-Pourcin, and added fuel to their rage. They menaced the communiers with their canes and swords, while redoubling their gibes. "Your swords are not long enough, they do not reach us!" Colombaik cried out to them, while passing under the balcony with his division of the militia. "Come down into the street! We shall then see whether iron is heavier in the hands of a bourgeois than in that of a knight!"

This challenge was answered by the episcopals with fresh insults. However, they dared not descend into the street, where they would have been seized and taken prisoners by the militia. For a moment delayed on its march, the procession resumed its way and arrived at the place of the Town Hall, a monument dear to the artisans and other townsmen.

The edifice, a spacious and handsome structure recently erected, formed an oblong square. Elaborate sculptures ornamented its facade and the lintels of its numerous windows and architrave, which consisted of three ogive arcades sustained by elegant sheaves of stone columns. But the portion of the edifice upon which particular care had been devoted, both in point of construction and ornamentation, was the tower of the belfry and the campanile, where hung the bell. This tower, proudly rising above the roof, stood out in full view. From tier to tier a slender sheet supported rounds of small columns surmounted with ogives chiseled in trefoil, so that across the network of chiseled stone the spiral of the staircase was visible that led up to the campanile, veiled in white cloth up to the moment when the procession issued upon the place. When the covering dropped off and the campanile stood unveiled, a shout of admiration and patriotic enthusiasm rose from all breasts. Nothing so airy as that campanile, looking like a gilded cage of iron, whose outlines stood out against the blue of the sky like a lace-work of gold, glittering in the rays of the sun. Above the dazzling dome, the communal banner floated in the spring breeze of that beautiful April morning. The enthusiastic cheers of the crowds rose again and again, and the north wind must have carried to the ears of the episcopals the cry, a thousand times repeated:

"Commune! Commune! Long live the Commune!"

### CHAPTER IV.

### THE ECCLESIASTICAL SEIGNIORY OF GAUDRY.

The episcopal palace of Laon rose close to the cathedral. Thick walls, fortified with two heavy towers, between which stood the gate, surrounded the dwelling from all sides. From the view-point of the benign morality of Jesus—the friend of the poor and the afflicted—nothing was less episcopal than the interior of this palace. One would imagine himself in the fortified castle of some feudal seigneur, a broiler and hunter. The singular contrast between the place and the character that it should have presented, left a painful impression upon all upright hearts, and such, indeed, was the feeling experienced by archdeacon Anselm, when, shortly after engaging Fergan to urge upon the communiers indifference towards the provocations of the episcopals, that disciple of Christ crossed the yard of the bishop. Here falconers were engaged washing and preparing the raw meat destined for the falcons, or cleaned up their roosts; yonder, the huntsmen, their horns on their guard-chains and whip in hand, led for pastime a pack of large dogs of Picardy, prized so highly by hunters. Further away, serfs of the episcopal domain were being drilled in the handling of arms under the command of one of the bishop's equerries. This last circumstance struck the archdeacon with amazement, and increased his fears for the peace of the city. The venerable man was overcome with sadness and two large tears dropped from his eyes.

Although an associate of clergymen, Anselm was a man of great kindness of heart, pure, disinterested, austere and of rare learning. He was called "doctor of doctors." He declined the episcopacy several times, fearing, it was said, to seem to censure, by the Christian meekness of his nature and the chastity of his habits, the conduct of most of the bishops of Gaul. His face, at once pale and serene, his hair thinned by study, imparted a distinguished aspect to his person, tempered by the kindliness of his eyes. Modestly dressed in his black gown, Anselm was slowly crossing the yard of the abbey, contrasting their noisy tumult with the repose of his own studious retreat, when he saw, approaching him from a distance, a negro of giant stature, dressed in Oriental garb, his head covered with a red turban. This African slave, of mean and savage physiognomy, was named John since his baptism. He was, many years before, given as a present to Bishop Gaudry by a Crusader seigneur, returned from the Holy Land. By little and little Black John grew to be the favorite of his new master, the intermediary of the latter's debaucheries, or the instrument of his cruelties, before the establishment of the Commune. Since that transformation, the persons and property of the communiers had become safe. If an injury was done to either, the Commune obtained or itself enforced justice against the wrong-doer. Accordingly, the bishop and the nobles had been forced to renounce their habits of violence and rapine.

When the archdeacon saw Black John, the latter was descending a staircase that ended in a door, wrought under a vault closed with a grating, that separated the first two walks of a green reserved for the bishop. A woman, wrapped in a mantle that completely concealed her face, accompanied the slave. Anselm could not restrain a gesture of indignation. Knowing the dwellers of the palace, and aware that the staircase under the vault led to the apartments of the bishop, he had no doubt that the veiled woman, leaving the palace at so early an hour and under the guide of Black John, the bishop's regular procurer, had passed the night with the prelate. Blushing with chaste confusion, the archdeacon had turned his head away with disgust at the moment when, having opened the grated gate, the slave and his female companion passed close by him. Stepping into the vault, the archdeacon entered the green,—a spacious enclosure, that, swarded and planted with trees, spread before the windows of the private apartments of Bishop Gaudry.

This man, a Norman by extraction and descended from the pirates of old Rolf, after having fought in the ranks of William the Bastard, when he conquered England, was later, in 1106, promoted to the bishopric of Laon. Cruel and debauched, covetous and prodigal, Gaudry was, besides all, a passionate huntsman. Still agile and vigorous, although beyond the prime of life, he was at that moment trying a young horse and breaking it in to step on the green that Anselm had just entered. In order to feel more at ease, the bishop had taken off his long morning robe, lined with fur, and kept on nothing but his sock-pointed shoes, his hose and a short jacket of flexible material. Bareheaded, his gray hair to the wind, still an able and bold cavalier, and riding bare-back the young stallion, that had for the first time come from the paddock, Gaudry was pressing his nervy knees against the flanks of the mettlesome animal, resisting its boundings and kicking, and forcing it to run in a circle over the sward of the green. The bishop's equerry applauded with voice and gesture the skill of his master, while a serf of robust frame and gallows-bird countenance followed the riding lesson with cunning eyes. This serf, who belonged to the abbey of St. Vincent, a fief of the bishopric, was named Thiegaud. The fellow—originally charged with the collection of toll over a bridge near the city, a dependency of the castellan Enguerrand de Coucy, one of the most ferocious feudal tyrants of Picardy who was dreaded for his audacity and cruelty—had been guilty of a number of extortions and even murders. Gaudry, struck by the resolute character of the scamp, demanded him from the castellan of Coucy in exchange for another serf, and charged him with the collection of the arbitrary taxes that he imposed upon his vassals, a charge that Thiegaud filled with remorseless severity. Thus the bishop treated the serf with great familiarity, habitually called him his "friend Ysengrin"—the wolf's companion—and, at a pinch, used him for a go-between in his debaucheries, not, however, without awakening the vindictive jealousy of Black John, who felt secretly enraged at the sight of another than himself in the secret confidence of his master.

Gaudry, while riding around the green, saw the archdeacon, made the stallion suddenly face about, and after a few more boundings the impetuous animal brought the bishop close to Anselm. Lightly jumping off, the bishop said to his equerry, throwing the bridle over to him: "I'll keep the horse; take him to my stables; he will be matchless in the hunt of stags and boars!"

"If you keep the horse, seigneur bishop," answered Thiegaud, "give me a hundred and twenty silver sous. That's the price they demand."

"That's all right. What's the hurry?" rejoined the bishop, and turning to his equerry: "Gerhard, take the horse to the stable."

"Not so," said Thiegaud, "the tenant-farmer is waiting at the gate of the palace. He has been ordered to take the horse back or receive its price in money. It is the orders of the owner of the stallion."

"The impudent scamp who gave that order deserves to receive as many lashes as his horse has hairs in his tail!" cried out the bishop. "Have I not, as a matter of right, six months' credit in my own seigniory?"

"No," coolly answered Anselm, "that seignioral right has been abolished since the city of Laon is a free Commune. Never forget the difference between the present and the past. The seignioral rights are abolished."

"I am reminded of that but too often!" answered the bishop with concentrated vexation. "However that may be, Gerhard, obey my orders and take the horse to the stable."

"Seigneur," said Thiegaud, "the owner is waiting, I tell you. He must have the money, a hundred and twenty silver sous, or the animal back."

"He shall not have the horse!" answered the bishop angrily striking the ground. "If the farmer dares to grumble, tell him to send me his master. We shall see whether he will have the audacity to appear on such an errand before his bishop."

"He will surely have the audacity, seigneur bishop," replied Thiegaud. "The owner of the horse is Colombaik the Tanner, a communier of Laon and son of Fergan, master quarryman of the mill hill. I know these people. I notify you that the father and son are of those . . . who dare . . . anything."

"Blood of Christ! and devil's horns! we have had words enough!" cried out the bishop. "Gerhard, take the stallion to the stables!"

The equerry obeyed, and the archdeacon was on the point of remonstrating with Gaudry on the injustice and danger of his conduct, when, hearing a great noise in the yards contiguous to the green, the bishop, already in a bad humor and yielding to the passion of his temperament, rushed out of the green, without taking time to put on his robe again and leaving it behind on a bench. He had hardly crossed the first yard, followed by the equerry, who led the horse, and by Thiegaud, who in his perversity was smiling at this latest iniquity of his master, when he saw a crowd of the domestics of his household coming towards him. They were all yelling and gesticulating violently, and surrounded Black John, whose gigantic stature rose above them by the full length of his head. No less excited than his fellows, Black John also yelled and gesticulated, foaming at the mouth with rage and brandishing his Saracen dagger.

"What means this hurly?" inquired the bishop of Laon stepping before the advancing crowd. "Why do you scream in that way?"

Several voices answered at once: "We are crying out against the bourgeois of Laon! The dogs of the communiers!"

"What has happened? Answer quick!"

"Black John will tell monseigneur!" several voices called in great excitement.

The African giant turned towards his fellows, motioned them to be silent, and wiping on his sleeves the bloody blade of his dagger, said to the bishop in an excited voice, still trembling with rage, but not without calculatingly casting upon Thiegaud a look of rancorous hatred:

"I had just led Mussine the Pretty to the outer gate—"

"My daughter!" Thiegaud ejaculated stupefied at the very moment when, angrily stamping the ground, the prelate checked the indiscreet words of his slave with a silent gesture. Black John remained mute like one who understands too late the folly he committed, while the rest of the bishop's domestics stealthily giggled at the consternation of Thiegaud. Some dreaded him for his malignity, others envied him for his intimate relations with their master. Thiegaud, livid at the startling revelation, flashed at Gaudry a sinister look quick as lightning; his features thereupon as quickly reassumed their usual expression, and he started to laugh louder than the rest at the awkward blunder of Black John. He even went the length of indulging in ironical deference towards Gaudry. The latter, long acquainted with the criminal life of the serf of St. Vincent, was not surprised at see-

(Continued on Page 3.)

# The Pilgrim's Shell

(Continued from Page 2.)

ing him remain so indifferent to the disgrace of his daughter. Nevertheless, yielding to that respect for man that even the most depraved characters never succeed in wholly stripping themselves of, the bishop silenced the suppressed merriment with an imperious gesture and said: "Those giggles are unseemly. Thiegaud's daughter came early in the morning, as so many other penitents do, to consult me on a case of conscience. After listening to her in the confessional, I ordered John to accompany her to the gate."

"That's so true," added Thiegaud with perfect composure, "that, having to bring this morning a horse to our seigneur the bishop, I expected to return with my daughter. But she left by the vaulted door while I was still on the green."

"Friend Ysengrin," resumed the prelate with a mixture a haughtiness and familiarity, "my words can dispense with your testimony." And wishing to cut off short this incident, which had the archdeacon, silent but profoundly indignant, for a witness, Gaudry said to the black slave: "Speak! What has happened between you and the communiers, whom may the pest carry off and hell confound! May Satan take them all!"

"I was opening the gate for Mussine the Pretty, when three bourgeois, coming from the suburbs and bound for the principal entry of the city, to assist at the ceremonies announced by the belfry of those rogues, passed by the palace. Seeing a veiled woman come out, those scamps set up a malicious laugh, and nudged one another in the ribs while keeping on their way. I ran after them and asked: 'What are you laughing about, you dogs of communiers?' They gave me an insolent answer and called me the bishop's hangman. I then drew my dagger and stabbed one of them in the arm, and leaving his companions and him loudly threatening to demand justice from the Commune, I returned and locked the door after me. By Mahomet, I am proud of what I did. I avenged my master for the insults of those curs!"

"Black John did well!" cried the domestics of the bishop. "We can no longer go out without being shamed by the communiers of Laon."

"The other day," put in one of the falconers, "the butcher of Exchange street, one of the Councilmen of the Commune, refused to give me meat on credit for the falcons!"

"At the taverns we are compelled to pay before drinking! The shame and humiliation of it!"

"It was not thus three years ago!"

"Those were good days! A retainer of the bishop then took without paying whatever he wanted from the merchants; he caressed their wives and daughters; and none dared say a word. By the womb of the Virgin Mary, we were then masters! But since the establishment of the Commune it is the bourgeois who command! The devil take the Commune! Three cheers for the good old times!"

"To hell with the communiers; they make us die of shame for our seigneur the bishop!" exclaimed one of the young serfs who had been shortly before exercising in the use of arms. And resolutely addressing the prelate, who, so far from quieting down the excitement of his people, seemed delighted at their recriminations, and encouraged them with a smile of approval: "Say the word, our bishop! There are here fifty of us who have learned to manage the bow and pike! Place a few knights at our head, and we will descend upon the city, leaving not a stone upon another of the houses of that bourgeois and artisan rabble!"

"Say the word!" cried out Thiegaud, "and I will bring you, my holy patron, a hundred woodsmen and colliers from the forest of St. Vincent. They will make a bonfire of the houses of those bourgeois and artisans fit to roast Beelzebub! Death and damnation to the communiers!"

If the bishop of Laon had entertained any doubt upon the indifference of the serf of St. Vincent regarding his daughter's shame, it was removed by the man's words. Accordingly, doubly satisfied with the tokens of Thiegaud's devotion, the bishop addressed his people in these words: "I am glad to find you in such a frame of mind. Remain so. The hour for going to work will arrive sooner than you may think. As to you, my brave John, you have avenged me on the insolence of those communiers. Fear not. Not a hair of your head shall be touched. As to you, friend Ysengrin, notify the farmer that I keep the horse, and I shall pay him if I choose. Then, see our friends the woodsmen and colliers of the forest. I may need them any day. When that day shall come, they shall be free, in reward for their good will, to plunder at their pleasure the houses of the bourgeois of Laon." Turning thereupon towards the archdeacon, who had witnessed this scene without uttering a word, he said to him: "Let's go in. What has just taken place under your own eyes will have prepared you for the interview we are to have, and for which I summoned you hither."

Anselm followed the prelate, and both entered the bishop's apartments.

"Anselm, you have just seen and heard things that, doubtlessly, left a disagreeable impression upon your mind. We shall take that up presently," said Gaudry to the archdeacon when they were closeted together. "I summoned you to the palace because I am aware of your foible for the common folks of the bourgeoisie, and in order to afford you the opportunity to render a signal service to your favorites. Listen to me carefully."

"I shall strive to meet your intentions, seigneur bishop."

"You shall go to the bourgeois and artisans of the city and say to them: 'Renounce, good people, that execrable spirit of novelty, that diabolical passion that drives the vassal to rise against his master. Abjure, soon as possible, the brazen and impious pride that persuades the artisan and townsman to withdraw from the seigniorial authority and to govern themselves. Return to your trades, to your shops. The administration of public affairs can get along very well without you. You quit the Church for the Town Hall; you open your ears to the sound of your own belfry, and shut them to the chimes of the church bells. That is not good for you. You will end by forgetting the submission you owe to the clergy, to the nobles and to the King. Good people, never allow the distinctions of the stations in life to be confounded; each to his rights, each to his duties. The right of the clergy, of the nobility and of the King is to command and to govern; the duty of the serf and the bourgeois is to bow before the will of their natural masters. This communal and republican comedy, that you have been playing for now nearly three years, has lasted too long. Abdicate willingly your roles of Mayor, Councilmen and warriors. People at first laughed at your silly pranks, hoping you would return to your senses. But it takes too long; one's patience is exhausted. The time has come to put an end to the Saturnalia. In order to avoid a just punishment, return of your own accord to the humility of your station in life. Cut your Councilmen's robes into skirts for your wives; return your arms to people who know how to handle them; respectfully surrender to the Church, as an homage of atonement, that ear-splitting bell of that belfry of yours; it will enrich the chimes of the cathedral. Your superb banner will make a becoming altar-cloth, and as to your magnificent silver seal, melt it back into money wherewith to purchase some hogsheads of old wine which you will empty in honor of the restoration of the seigniory of your bishop in Jesus Christ. Do so, and all will be well, good people. The past will be forgiven you upon condition that you will henceforth be submissive, humble and penitent towards the Church, the noblemen and the King, and that of your own accord, you renounce your pestiferous Commune.'"

Anselm listened to the bishop with a mixture of amazement, indignation and profound anxiety. He did not interrupt the speaker to the end, wondering how that man, whom he could not deny either cleverness or sagacity, yet could be so untutored upon men and things as to conceive such a project. So profound was the emotion of the archdeacon that he remained silent for a while. Finally he answered the bishop in a grave and clear voice: "You solicit my assistance to advise the inhabitants of Laon to give up their charter, that very charter that both you and they have agreed to and sworn to uphold by a common accord?"

"That agreement was concluded by the chapter and council of seigneurs who governed during my absence, while I was away in England."

"Must I remind you that, upon your return from London, and in consideration of a large sum paid by the bourgeoisie, you signed the charter with your own hand, that you sealed it with your own seal, and that you swore upon your faith that it would be faithfully observed?"

"I was wrong in doing so. The Church holds her seigniories from God alone. She may not alienate her rights. I am absolved from such engagements."

"Have you returned the money that you received for your consent to the Commune? Has restitution been made?"

"The money I received represented, at the most, four years' revenues that I habitually drew from the inhabitants of Laon. Three years have elapsed since the establishment of this Commune. I am only one year in advance of my vassals. My right is to tax at will and mercy. I shall double the tax of the current year, and being quits, I shall, if I please, demand the tax for the next year."

"Yours would be such a right had you not alienated it. But you cannot repudiate your signature, your seal and your oath. Your engagement is binding."

"What is there in a signature? One or two words placed at the bottom of a parchment! What is a seal? A lump of wax! What is an oath? A breath of air that is lost in space, and which the wind carries off!"

Although highly wrought up by the prelate's answer, Anselm restrained his indignation and proceeded: "You, then, persist in your purpose to break your oath and abolish the Commune of Laon?"

"Yes, I intend to smash it."

"You refuse to keep your sacred engagement? Be it so! But the communiers of Laon have had their charter confirmed by the present King. They will turn to him to compel you to respect its clauses. You will have two foes to face—the people and the King."

"To-morrow," answered the bishop, "Louis the Lusty will be here at the head of a goodly number of knights and men-at-arms,—all resolved to crush those miserable bourgeois if they dare defend their Commune. It is all settled between us."

"I can hardly believe what you say, seigneur bishop," replied the archdeacon. "The King, who confirmed and swore to the charter for the enfranchisement of the bourgeois of Laon, and who received the price agreed upon, he surely will not be ready to perjure himself and commit such an infamy."

"The King begins to listen to the voice of the Church. He understands that, though it be good politics and profitable withal, to sell charters of emancipation to the cities that are subject to lay seigniories, his rivals and ours, it is to seriously compromise his own power if he were to favor emancipation from the ecclesiastical seigniories. The King is determined to restore to the episcopal authority all the ecclesiastical cities that have been enfranchised, and to exterminate their inhabitants if they dare oppose his pleasure. To-morrow, perhaps this very day, the King will be in the city at the head of armed men. The nobles of the city have been apprised, like myself, of the pending arrival of the King. We shall notify our will to the people."

"My presentiments did not deceive me when I urged the communiers to redouble their self-control and prudence!"

"You were on the right road. It is, therefore, that, aware of your influence with those clowns, I sent for you, to commission you to induce them to renounce their hellish Commune of their own free will, if they would escape a terrible punishment. We demand absolute submission."

"Bishop of Laon," Anselm answered solemnly and with a tremulous voice, "I decline the mission that you charge me with. I do not wish to see the blood of my brothers flow in this city. If your projects were but suspected, an uprising would break out on the spot among the people, and yourself, the clergy and the knights in the city would be the first victims of the rage of the communiers. Your houses would be burned down over your heads."

"There is no insurrection to be feared," put in the bishop laughingly loudly. "John, my negro, will take by the nose the wildest of those clowns and will bring him on his knees to my feet, begging for mercy, trembling and penitent. I need but to say the word."

"If you dare touch the rights of the Commune, then you, the priests and the nobles will all be exterminated by the people in arms. Oh, may heaven's curse fall upon me before I shall by a single word help to unchain such a storm!"

"So, then, you, Anselm, a subordinate to my authority, you refuse the commission that I charge you with?"

"I swear to you upon the salvation of my soul, you are staking your life at a terrible game! May I not have to dispute your bleeding remains from the popular fury in order to give them Christian burial!"

(To be Continued.)

# COX-COLLINS DEBATE.

## "Resolved That the 'Socialist' Party is Dividing the Working Class and Is Therefore, a Capitalist Organization."

Collinsville, Ill., Feb. 19.—"Resolved, that the organization which John P. Collins represents is dividing the working class, and is, therefore, a capitalist organization."

Will W. Cox, affirms; John P. Collins, denies.

A debate on the above took place in the City Hall in Collinsville, on the evening of Feb. 9. Collins spoke in the hall the previous evening on "The Trade Union Question." Had an S. L. P. man been handling the question, the only difference would have been deeper digging. He showed how the capitalists, through their allied organizations, trades unions included, were keeping the working class divided. After making that his principal point, Collins closed by introducing the "Socialist" party as the only working class organization through which workingmen could become united and get freedom. When the floor was thrown open for questions W. W. Cox, of the S. L. P., arose. He stated that the speaker had delivered an address that could hardly be criticized by a revolutionist as he had reproduced some of the arguments which had been advanced often in this town by the Socialist Labor Party, that has had an organization here for the past six years, but Cox went on to say the organization Collins represented was also dividing the working class, and, therefore was a capitalist organization.

Cox then challenged Collins to meet him in public debate before the workingmen of Collinsville on the above question.

Comrade Philip Veal acted as chairman and served as moderator for Cox, while Frank Gayer (a one-time S. L. P. man who, in resigning from the Party, declared that the tactics of the S. L. P. was injuring his "peesness"—he is a small cobbler), acted as moderator for Collins.

Veal opened the meeting at 8 o'clock. The time was divided thirty minutes each for the first bout, twenty minutes each for the second bout, and Cox five minutes to close.

Cox commenced by pointing out what a revolutionary organization should be, giving a short history of the S. L. P. up to the time when the Colony scheme of E. V. Debs was launched, out of which the bogus "S. P." developed. Tracing this development Cox showed how the Kangs leaped from the S. L. P. to the Social Democratic party (the attempt of July 10, 1899), producing a leaflet from 1900 of the S. D. P., with the pictures of Debs and Harriman, showing how they claimed all the credit and the Socialist forces by claiming the Socialist vote from its beginning in 1890. Cox said this stamped them political thieves. He then exposed the Debs-Rodgers $5,000 a year contract and how they bled the A. F. of L. unions out of from $50 to $250 a speech. Cox then took up the leaflet "The Difference," and revealed the fusion of the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic, party with the political parties of capitalism. At this point time was called and Collins was introduced.

Collins opened by reading the platform of the "S. P.," and exclaimed: "I dare my opponent to prove this is not revolutionary!"

He then admitted the historical matter Cox had produced, also that he was a member of the S. L. P. until the 1899 split and that the reason he left it was because of its trades union position, etc.

Collins claimed Debs had a right to speak under whatever and whosoever auspices he pleased and take all the money he could get and that it did not hurt the organization. "I have done this," declared Collins, "but turned the money over to the party." Then addressing Cox, he exclaimed: "And you would do the same!"

Turning his attention to the leaflet "The Difference," Collins stamped it "a Daily People and De Leon lie." He excused G. A. Hoehn, the deputy sheriff, for accepting that position, declaring that Hoehn took it to assist the strikers.

Collins asserted that he was in Schuylkill County, Pa., in the spring of 1903 and knew that Daily People report to be a lie. He then produced a Citizens' League document from the Chicago city campaign of last spring, showing that four Kangaroos and three S. L. P. men had endorsed the same, thus acknowledging four of the members of his party guilty to implicate, as he wished the audience to believe, three alleged S. L. P. men. What a defense!

Collins closed by stating that De Leon was the Boss and controlled that part of the S. L. P. which was left—but that it was most gone, that it was in the road and stopped the progress of the Socialist Movement, and the sooner it was out of the way the better.

Collins admitted that men were expelled from the S. L. P. ranks for violation of principles, but he said soon there would be none left but De Leon and his baker's dozen.

All the defense Collins put up was in the first half of his thirty minutes. He then tried to put the S. L. P. into the discussion and throw Cox off the question. It was noticed by all that he never returned to the question under discussion. Let us see how he succeeded.

Cox opened his second argument as follows: "My opponent could have taken no position that would have assisted me more than to read the platform of his party. I shall now prove his party to be an organization on paper to catch suckers. I acknowledge the S. L. P. could throw away its platform and use the one my opponent has just read, but herein lies the difference: The S. L. P. lives up to its platform; the 'S. P.' does not. As proof I shall introduce evidence from within the 'S. P.' organization. Listen to this from the semi-annual report of the national committee of the 'S. P.' issued Sept. 12, 1902:

"'Tactics and Principles.

"'The separation of the party into State organizations, each being supreme in its own State, holds forth a prospect of political advantage very tempting to certain men. As a result, there have been factional fights in five States. Under the operation of the national constitution, the national committee cannot interfere to prevent or settle such troubles before they reach a serious stage, but must wait until there is a split in the State.

"'Such a struggle is now in progress in Nebraska. The fact that organizations in new States consist of elements inexperienced in the philosophy and tactics of the international Socialist movement, naturally leads to political expressions, platforms and party tactics which conflict with Socialist principles and practices and which are essentially middle class.

"'The factional fight in Utah was largely caused by such conditions, and the national committee could not interfere until there was a split and rival State committees to deal with.

"'The independent tendencies of the State organizations find expression in different tactics by different States on questions of national policy, so that while the national committee may be attempting to rally the comrades of the country on a certain line of action, conflicting policies may be urged by one or more State committees. This confusion in organization and in tactics is well illustrated at this time by many of our comrades who seem to think that Socialist principles are justification for applauding a division on Socialist lines between the economic organizations of the working class.

"'While the Socialist party in national convention has solemnly pledged itself to the unification of the trade unions, yet a contrary policy has been set up in the West by comrades acting in a dual capacity as organizers of the American Labor Union and the Socialist party, thus misrepresenting the attitude of our party and compromising it in their attempts to build up a rival organization to the American Federation of Labor.'

"This is State autonomy. Here is why they can't expel crooks and fakirs from their party. Here is shown also their double dealing and double trades union policy."

Cox briefly recounted the launching of the A. L. U. by Ed. Boyce, president of the Western Federation; D. C. Coates, Lieutenant Governor of Colorado, elected on the Populist-Democratic fusion ticket, and E. V. Debs.

Cox stopped long enough to prove Collins' Citizens' League three S. L. P. men to be three men who had been expelled from the S. L. P. six months previous to the time they signed the document.

From a report of the late A. F. of L. national convention in the U. M. W. of A. Journal, Cox pointed out how the "S. P." bored from within and bored themselves out, but supported Greasey Sammy by over a thousand votes in his re-election for president after he (Gompers) turned them down by showing their inconsistency as compared with the consistency of the S. L. P., and denouncing Socialism.

"How is this for defending Socialism? This is living up to their platform!—aber nit!" said Cox.

Time was growing short, but Cox began to pour in the hot shots. "Listen," said he, "to this from the Teller County, Col., organization of the Socialist party:

"'From the organization of the S. D. P. in Colorado we have fought with variable success all sentimental gush, reactionary notions, labor skates, and jobless politicians; routed here, they bobbed up there; put to the sword by your honest votes within the party machinery they formed a coalition outside and above the party, defying you; the attack with irresponsible pen and press in a clamorous campaign waged throughout the State, later enabled them to come up from all the outlying district with fraudulent organizations, which has enabled this coalition to finally capture your party machinery, crush all measures calculated to expose them before you and now they sway toward their end in an orgie of compromising confusion.

"'With the corruption of a decade of capitalist politics smeared all over his hands during his checkered career as a successful betrayer of the working class, the most notorious of janizaries, one David Ciaphus Coates (by grace of capital, sometime lieutenant governor of Colorado), with the aid of certain members of Denver local, attempted and finally succeeded in forcing his way into our midst, and by his blandishments has tucked the parties prospects safely away in his political harem.

"'Up to this point in the history of our party in this State, by the vigilance of Teller County and those organizations which she had planted in the several industrial points in the State, had balked almost every scheme of the brazen coalition, continually gaining strength within the party by the gathering of the fruit of the crusade — sentimental agitation which gave the coalition new party recruits as a means within the party of bagging the same. The next move, like a flash of lightning, revealed to every doubting Thomas the undisguised determination of the grafters, for once and all to rid themselves of possible interference in Colorado—viz.: Throw the party machinery into the combined agrarian country and labor-skate city influence, by changing the constitution in regard to the State committee; so that each organized county (and those of you who are familiar with our State conventions know the method of getting five or six farmers into a local in some outlying country, influenced by Southworth—how easy "organized county" can be worked against you), should have a representative on the State committee. So there you are, with a fraudulent paper organization in their hands; an irresponsible private press; with the boodle of the sentimentalists in the middle class, with the globe-trotting spouters of our new unofficial national secretary Critchlow, of Dayton, Ohio, at their disposal;—what a gigantic bluff could not this coalition put up to the capitalist class of this State and with considerable effrontery blackmail that class into providing easy berths for the chiefs of promoters, a la English Burns, French Millerand, German Bernstein.

"'Bag and baggage your party mechanism is now in the hands of corruptionists, directed by the Denver coalition."

Cox here quoted from "The Seattle Socialist" papers, in substantiation of the cialist" papers, in substantion of the above, and exposing more Colorado crookedness.

(Continued on page 6.)

THE IDEAL CITY
BY
Cosimo Noto, M. D.
Cloth bound, laid antique paper, 377 pages.
Price, $1.00.

A pleasing and entertaining story, in which the New Orleans of to-day, with its poverty, misery, disease and crime, is changed, in a sane and scientific manner, into a healthful, beautiful Paradise for man. The aim of the book is to show:

1. That medicine, as practiced nowadays, is immoral, and that doctors, generally speaking, are but imposters, and often murderers.
2. That the road wherein now marches medical science in order to fight out diseases, is wrong.
3. That Socialism alone can permit medical science to destroy all kind of diseases.
4. That man, living according to the laws of nature and of hygiene, things that under Socialism everybody could do, may reach an age twice as great as is now considered exceptional.
5. That old age as we know it is not a normal evolution of the body, but the result of diseases more or less apparent.
6. That Socialism is not a question of the stomach for some people, but is a question of the health and happiness of all people.

"The story lays no claim to economic or sociologic merit. It is an outburst of a warm heart, that bleeds at the sight of human suffering under the modern system of society, and that, animated by Socialist sentiment, sings the prose song of the ideal city. As a man of scientific training—a successful New Orleans physician—the author has built upon the solid foundations of medical science, and that vein is perhaps the most typical, as it probably is the most pleasing and instructive to strike and follow in the book."—New York Daily People.

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P. O. Box 1576. Tel. 129 Franklin.

Published Every Saturday by the Socialist Labor Party.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York postoffice, July 13, 1900.

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned, if so desired, and stamps are enclosed.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

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|---|---|
| In 1888 | 2,068 |
| In 1892 | 21,157 |
| In 1896 | 36,564 |
| In 1900 | 34,191 |
| In 1902 | 53,763 |

"All who toil will get their due,
When the order comes from you;
When you do as men should do!
Workingmen, O Workingmen."

## RECURRING PHENOMENA.

Suppose that, some time between 1770 and 1778, some enterprising Briton and fore-runner of the late lamented Captain Pond had started a lecture bureau in London town; suppose the undertaking were well or otherwise subsidized by the Cabinet of George III; and suppose the manager of the bureau, knew that in the then American colonies there was a "seditious spirit" on foot, and that the subject of "democracy" was on most peoples' lips and minds; suppose then, that the manager picked out and sent to the colonies some lecturer to tour the country, disabuse the peoples' minds regarding their illusions on "popular government" and stem the tide of political freedom. Suppose, finally, the lecturer arrived, and appeared and in the course of his lecture delivered himself as follows:

"Democracy is the most ambitious remedy that has been offered. Democracy can not be well defined. It has been likened to a great rubber band, which may be stretched and stretched until it seems to compass the whole of society, but finally it reaches the point where the strain is too great, and it gives way altogether. Applied to the individual character and conduct it gives much good: but it will not admit a large application. Democracy is not a vital principle. It is not a constructive force."

Does anyone imagine that democracy would have felt triturated by such assertions? Does anyone imagine that the wheels of time would thereby have been turned back, and the Revolutionary Fathers would have thrown up the sponge and re-placed their necks into King George's yoke? Hardly! The lecturer would have been laughed at by the Spirit of '76.

Now, then, strike out in the above quotation the word "Democracy," every time it occurs, and place in its stead the word "Socialism," and you have the exact words from a speech by Carroll D. Wright, delivered on Sunday, the 6th of this month, at Hartford, Ct. The substitution of "Democracy" for "Socialism" illumines the string of assertions in the speech, and is their complete refutation. No argument is needed. It suggests itself to the reader.

And there were just such speeches made in the seventies of the eighteenth century by the Carroll D. Wrights of that generation, floated by the corresponding element that floats the Carroll D. Wrights of this generation. The then Carroll D. Wrights succeeded only in pocketing their salaries; that is all the success that the present Carroll D. Wrights will be able to record. "Undefinable" though democracy was by those who did not like the pill; unable though it was to embrace King George and Parliament within the "rubber band" of society; and despite its vital principle and constructive force were justly denied by the class to whom it meant the reverse of "vital," namely "death" and the reverse of "constructive," namely "destructive"—despite and notwithstanding all that, democracy triumphed then. And so and for the same reason will Socialism now.

The Hon. Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, although pretending to vast sociologic knowledge, has yet to learn that great Social Revolutions can not be hocus-pocused by rhetoric. They plow through that like a locomotive with a full head of steam on plows through a swarm of buzzing mosquitos.

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Push the Party Press: The Arbetaren, Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung, and The Daily, Sunday and Weekly People, and thus push the cause of the working class.

## CORTELYOU A BRYANITE.

On the 5th of this month, Secretary George B. Cortelyou of the Department of Commerce and Labor delivered an address in Providence on economic conditions in New England. The address was a eulogy of the said conditions. Prosperity, the Secretary claimed, was soaring high and wide, with employers and employees as common sharers. Nor was the Secretary chary of figures. Of these New England figures two sets will answer for the present.

For the year 1850 the Secretary places the number of employees in the manufactures of New England at 312,000 with wages at $75,000,000; in 1900 the number of employees is placed at 1,000,000 with wages at $420,000,000. In other words, in 1850 wages were $240, in 1900 they were $420, or $180 higher.—Stick a pin there.

Nine days before Secretary Cortelyou delivered this speech and brought forth these figures a bill was introduced in the United States Senate to raise the salaries of Congressmen. And the argument made in support of the proposition was that the present standard of salary was determined according to the standard of the cost of living at that time. The cost of living having gone up considerably, the old standard of salary should be abandoned and brought up to the present standard of the cost of living. Among the men who took part in the informal discussion that followed the introduction of the bill was Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, who stated that as compared with the cost of living the existing salary is not equal to more than 50 per cent.—Stick a pin there.

We need not verify Secretary Cortelyou's figures. We may accept them as correct, for the sake of argument; and as to the matter of the cost of living, verification is there superfluous. Senator Hoar's experience in Washington, Horace Greeley's experience in New York, everybody's experience everywhere coincides. The cost of living has gone up. The estimate of a 50 per cent. increase on the cost of living of the well-to-do is moderate. Taking Secretary Cortelyou's figures together with the evidence furnished by the bill to raise the salaries of Congressmen, we obtain the following proposition: Wages have risen 75 per cent.; cost of living has risen 50 per cent. to the well-to-do, consequently it has risen at least 80 per cent to the workingmen, who, having to buy in small quantities, are plucked both in actual and in relative price to say nothing of the quality and more shrunken quarters. In other words in 1900 the workingman received a dollar with only 20 cents in it; or to use a very modern political term, he received a "cheap dollar" for his full or dear dollar of labor.

The conclusion is obvious. Secretary Cortelyou says that the conditions he describes denote deep and wide-spread prosperity. Of course he believes it. But in believing and proclaiming it, whom else does he rank himself with than with William Jennings Bryan? Mr. Bryan, as the anti-free coinagists showed, believed that the more dollars a man has the richer he is, regardless of the value of the dollar. Four dollars that together contain 240 cents, Mr. Bryan takes to be greater prosperity than three dollars that amount to 300 cents. Mr. Bryan was sincere in his belief, as sincere as Secretary Cortelyou is now when he declares there is greater prosperity now than in 1850, because now the workingman receives $420 whereas in 1850 he received only $240—although the $240 dollars of 1850 contained a purchasing power of 24,000 cents, while the $420 of to-day contain a purchasing power of only 8,400 cents.

We would not question Mr. Cortelyou's sincerity, however fallacious his economics. But his very sincerity in such economics makes him a Bryanite—and that is what all the gold standard Republican officials of to-day are when they give their reasons for the prosperity that they ascribe to the workingman: they remain anti-Bryanite only in the matter of the economics according to which they determine the standard of their own salaries.

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## THE ALABAMA SCHEME ON FOOT.

About four years ago, a report was published in these columns of the convention, or rather, two conventions held in rapid successsion by the miners of Alabama. The report was written by a miner himself who was there, and "knew all about it." It was to this effect: Delegates had been elected. When they met the officers found them intractable. The scheme had been concocted between the officers and the mine owners to reduce wages. The delegates would not. Indeed, the temper of their constituents, when elected, was all but brotherly to Brother Capital. The rank and file had acted under sentiments that presupposed that, knowingly or unknowingly, they labored under strong doubts regarding the legitimacy of their alleged Brother Capital. They suspected the gentleman of having been hatched from a cuckoo's egg in their nest. At any rate, they felt nowise friendly, least of all brotherly towards him. The labor leaders or fakirs, labored hard to work the delegates "around." It was no go. Thereupon these leaders resorted to their powers—those powers that brand the vast majority of the pure and simple Union organizations as mere satrapies, with the labor fakir as the satrap who can do with the members as he will. They dissolved the convention; ordered another election; saw to it "by virtue of their powers" that a different brand of delegates was returned; met at that second convention; and there registered the will of the mine owners. That happened in Alabama. It looks as if the performance is now to be repeated in the north.

The bituminous miners' convention, of which Mr. John Mitchell is the much praised president (by capitalist concerns) has been in session at Indianapolis. At the convention and at the meeting of the mine-workers and mine-owners delegates Mr. Mitchell landed by slow gradations down to the demand of the mine-owners for a reduction of 5 per cent. from the present scale of wages. Whether it is that such a cut, now when the price of everything, bread included, is going up; or that the miners' delegates have begun to see through Mr. Mitchell;—whatever it be, the male widow of Senator Hanna labored in vain to convince them to cut their own throats. They would consent to no such, or any other cut, and the mine-owners left, realizing, as the despatches have it, that "they could do nothing with that convention." Did the mine-owners therefore go home disheartened? Indeed not.

Here are some of the statements made by the homing mine-owners:

"Affairs look now more promising than ever. We have won over the officials."

Again:

"The officials will now win over the miners. This will be done through a series of district conventions, at which the workers will be told of the unwisdom of holding out."

Again:

"The rank and file will be asked to send UNRESTRICTED DELEGATES TO ANOTHER NATIONAL CONVENTION."

So there we have the Alabama scheme in full course of operation. And how well posted these operators are upon what the plan of campaign is to be in pursuit of the goal to bring about a convention that will register the mine-owners' will!

The Mitchells are the decoy ducks of the capitalist class; their forms of Unionism is but the hook and net with which to land the workingman limp as a fish on the capitalist's banquet table. The Labor Movement must smash both decoy-ducks and hooks and nets, and organize anew into bodies that are Trades Unions in fact and not in name, and whose structure may leave as little chance for the Mitchells to decoy-duck in as light in a shop gives burglars a chance to play their pranks.

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## DYING AT THE TOP.

The "Evening Post" publishes with much relish the full list of the names of the newly formed "Philippine Independence Committee"; and "pointing with pride" at the galaxy, declares it an evidence that "American ideals are not dying at the top." A careful consideration of the galaxy proves the reverse of the "Evening Post's" contention.

Unquestionably the Philippines as a colony present one of the darkest clouds that are gathering and brooding over the horizon of our country. It is not merely that the keeping of the Philippines has led to the first step that costs towards transforming this government of the United States into a military oligarchy. That is bad enough, no doubt; but military oligarchies can be got rid of, and once rid of the evil is cauterized; they may kill, but they do not poison or vitiate the system. The Philippines as a colony, however, are a Dismal Swamp from which must inevitably rise the miasma of corruption, inevitable upon the chase of placemen for distant offices, too distant to be supervised by the home people, and where wealth can be amassed by venalty. The thing happens even nearby, at home, as the increasingly scandalous Postal Scandals show. What will it not be in the instance of a colony at the antipodes! Corruption will breed corruption. Corruptly places will be obtained, more corruptly will they be held, and still more corruptly will the official misdemeanors be cloaked over. The Philippines threaten to render the woof of the nation too rotten to hold any correctionary stitches. All this is obvious. Of course, the better informed, the Socialist, can see deeper. He realizes that the very danger from corruption presupposes home conditions too weak to resist the deadly microbe; and the better informed spend, accordingly, little time on the Philippines, but seek to restore at home the popular conditions of economic freedom that capitalism undermines. That gentlemen of high ideals and who figure in the high places of capitalist society should not be equipped with the mental powers to see so deep is not surprising. Their class interests disqualify them. Nevertheless, blind though their class interests may render them on economics, it does not therefrom follow that they must also be dead to the ideals that rocked the cradle of their own, the capitalist system of society,—ideals which were loftiest with the capitalist revolution of America. However absurd it would be for anyone to expect to see these ideals realized in the now full grown capitalism of America, nevertheless devotion to them would still be a redeeming feature in the system or its intellectual upholders. Among these ancient American ideals is that of independence of thought. What evidence is there that it survives, or is not dying out? The Philippine Independence Committee furnishes an evidence that that ideal for one IS dying at the top; that, in fact, what is left of it is not worth mentioning.

Here we have a country of 70,000,000 people with thousands of distinguished and intellectual posts, held of course, by the most brilliant members of the capitalist class. That these realize the miasmic influence of the Philippines, as a colony upon America there is no doubt. Nor can there be any doubt that those who gathered the committee did all they could to present as long a list as possible. And with what success? Leaving aside the calibre of the committeemen, and bringing for the present only the number under the scalpel, what do we see? Only 42 names could be scraped together for such an ideal purpose! Only 42 names, after scurrying over a country of the vastness of ours, and with such a large quarry from which to draw! That hundreds and thousands of others feel the same way is unquestionable; but they dare not utter themselves, lest they forfeit their posts! They dare not utter themselves even on such a purely ideal matter as purity of government! They dare not, because the social system that has reached the rotten-ripeness when it must fall, dies at the top. Its ideals become tainted with its essence, and the greatest of all ideals, manly independence of thought and speech, is no more.

Such is the lay of the land with regard to the Philippine Independence Committee when looked at from the numerical view point only. Applying the scalpel to its quality, even that insignificant number shrivels and almost vanishes. Barely three, say, five of the names deserve any consideration. The remaining thirty-seven are just so much trash. There is, for instance, the inevitable Robert Fulton Cutting, a picturesque moth, who would sooner die than not be on some committee; there is President David Starr Jordan of Leland Stanford University, who was perfectly willing to be reduced to the level of chief cook, or chief gardner, at any rate, of valet of the lady who virtually owns the University, by allowing her whims to overrule his opinion regarding the fitness of an instructor, and to dismiss him at her orders,—and who is happy in that capacity; there is the Rev. C. H. Parkhurst of unspeakable "tricks";—and so forth and so on!

Aye! American capitalist society is dying at the top. Its one time ideals are no more. May the decadent body not have to linger much longer! Another social system, another class, with whom true American ideals are a living fact, is pretty near virile-ripe to take the place of the capitalist class—rotten-ripe for replacement.

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## A NECESSARY AMENDMENT.

On either side of us lies a document—one a morning paper of this city, the other a circular issued by a trades union. The document to the right has an editorial which closes with these words:

"No labor leader is safe who considers harmony between Capital and Labor possible, and who denies the class-struggle character in the struggles of our days. The intellectual error gradually develops into a moral one, and the at first but mistaken labor leader into a traitor."

What paper may that be from? We do not wish to hold our readers long in suspense. We shall proceed to answer the question; and shall do so by now turning to the document to the left, the circular issued by a Trades Union—Firemen's Union No. 30 of the Int'l Brewery Workmen. The document opens with this passage:

"The Volkszeitung declared itself a short time ago ready to accept a truthful statement on the cause of the disturbances among the brewers, but THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE UNDERSIGNED UNION HAVE LOST CONFIDENCE [it was time!] IN THE SAID PAPER, since its Editor refused to accept communications from us when it was still time to PREVENT the trouble. We were then systematically killed with silence, despite all requests by letters and committees. By a timely interposition on the part of the Volkszeitung, there would not be to-day any brewery troubles in New York. But, IN CONSIDERATION OF THE PROMISED ADVERTISEMENTS FROM THE POOL BREWERIES, the Volkszeitung preferred to remain silent."

Nor is this the only document of that sort to our left. There are several others whose history may be summed up with the above. It is this:

The labor leaders who run Local No. 1 (New York City) of the Int'l Brewery Workmen's Union, were convicted at the national convention of the Union, held in Cincinnati, O., Feb. 1-14 of last year of having sold out to several breweries in the matter of contracts by which their rank and file were betrayed to the employer, and several of the delegates of the Local were expelled from the convention. Being hands-in-glove, like all fakirs are, with the brewery firms concerned, these officers—one of whom at least has amassed a house on his nefarious practices—bearded the national convention of their Union and subsequently their national officers, and cracked the whip over their local rank and file. Not all of these submitted. A strong portion resisted. But they were "disciplined"—fined out of their eye-balls, and driven from work. In this fight in New York, the German labor press was arbiter. According as it suppressed or published the facts, the corruptionists would win out and Labor would be betrayed, or the corruptionists would be beaten and the interests of the working class safeguarded. The "New Yorker Volkszeitung," the only local German daily that claims to be a labor and a Socialist paper, to boot, LAY LOW. Its Editor, Herman Schleuter, all in a tremor refused to take the protests from the fighting men of Local No. 1, containing an account of and exposing the rascality of their labor fakir officers, on the ground that the Board of Directors of the Volkszeitung Corporation had ordered him "to take no further (!!!) part in the controversy," while the gentleman's fit associate on the paper, Alexander Jonas, almost dislocated his spine in the snakish contortions that he went through before the protesters in his usual feat of trying to escape one lie by squirming into two. And all that, Why? The passage above quoted gives the answer—because of advertisements from the very brewery bosses concerned—advertisements that no honorable labor and Socialist paper would accept, let alone solicit!

The maxim, quoted at the beginning of this article from the Volkszeitung is by the light of the above facts—to here leave unmentioned scores of others where that paper sold out the interests of the working class in consideration of advertisements and subsidies from labor fakirs and from capitalists—obviously needs amendment. It should run this way:

"No labor leader is safe who considers harmony between Capital and Labor possible, and who denies the class struggle character in the struggles of our day. Consequently, and above all, no paper can be considered safe that, being the property of a private corporation, is able and ready to profit by the corrupt conspiracies of such labor leaders with the capitalist exploiters of labor; or that so completely shuts its eyes to that essential feature of the modern class struggle, the brotherhood of the working class, and the oneness of the plundering class, as to call 'traitors' only the Irish or American labor fakirs, but lovingly hob-nob and share the plunder with its own German dittos. With the labor leader, the intellectual error gradually develops into a moral one, and the at first mistaken labor leader into a traitor; with such privately owned paper, however, the rottenness and treason are congenital, and the development is from rottenness to deeper rottenness, from treason to deeper treason."

Thus amended the maxim will hold water, and will be a pillar of fire by night and of smoke by day.

[N. B.—The brewery documents, including the report of their convention, are in this office for inspection.]

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The press despatches report the capture by Hearst of the Rhode Island State delegation to the Democratic National Convention. It would be interesting to know to what extent, if any, the "Socialist" alias Social Democratic party of Little Rhody contributed to this end.

## SHOT NO. 2.

The Louisville, Ky., "Journal of Labor," well known as an organ of the capitalist class has gathered a long string of questions which it heads "Pertinent Questions for Socialists to Answer." It is not our habit to answer the dog that barks from behind a fence. For the canine we keep the toes of our shoes, should he get too near. But even if he remains at a distance, if he is too insolent, we see to—what? To him? No! To his master. And so now, especially seeing that his master—the piebald combination that feeds and eggs him on—has been stupid enough to expose himself through these questions as a target that it will be fun to riddle with shot. So now and at it, shot after shot—at the master. Shot No. 1 having been fired last week, now for shot No. 2.

Another of the "questions" is this:

"Is it not true that the policy of Socialist journals has been to slander and malign Trades Union leaders?"

Seeing that the individuals who make up the piebald combine behind the poodle—whether they be lay or clerical—have ever been found anxious when cornered to pronounce themselves "Socialist" of some description or other (Father Doyle is the latest clerical instance to our knowledge, Carroll D. Wright, the latest lay ditto) superfluous as it may be, we shall repeat that the Socialist Labor Party politely, and with whatever firmness may be requisite, declines to shoulder the "Socialism" of that mongrel crew. Excluding, accordingly, all such "Socialisms," the answer is:

No! The statement implied in the question is false of the whole cloth; moreover the shoe lies on the other foot.

The journals of the Socialist Labor Party have made a long number of charges against certain Trades Union leaders, in each instance named by name. For instance:

Gompers has been charged with and convicted of endorsing Jacob Cantor for Senator in this city within six months after Cantor had stood by and even applauded Governor Flower for sending the militia of the State to Buffalo, to break the efforts of the switchmen on strike to enforce the ten-hour law for railroad workers, which law the same Gompers had praised as a victory; again,

Tobin has been charged with and convicted of making contracts that expressly provide security to the employers against higher wages, in consideration of their forcing their employees to pay dues to Tobin, and the documents were published; again,

Mitchell was charged with and convicted of helping the bituminous coal mine owners, Hanna among them, by keeping up the strike of the anthracite miners, while ordering the bituminous wing of the union to scab it upon its anthracite wing by remaining at work and furnishing coal. The figures were published showing the picnic that the bituminous coal mine owners had during the strike turning out coal at almost five times higher prices than usual—due to the scarcity produced by the anthracite strike which was obviously lost; again,

Perkins of the cigarmakers was charged with and convicted of making himself a telephone for the lying claims of the capitalist class regarding the improved sanitation and longer lives of the working class. His figures, claiming that the cigarmakers were enjoying better health and longer lives, were pilloried with facts gathered from his own trade's journal and with the figures furnished by the Census itself, showing a vaster mortality; again,

A number of Trades Union leaders were charged and convicted of preventing the unification of the working class through the high initiation fees and dues that they demand—all intended to keep out members and establish a hard-shell corporation for a few; they were charged and convicted of denying the necessity of political action by Labor, while at the same time they were found on lobbying committees to Legislatures; they were charged and convicted of pretending to aim at the improvement of the working class by fathering certain legislative resolutions, and then betrayed their hypocrisy by supporting the parties of the capitalist class who would not listen to any such resolutions; they were charged and convicted with facts, figures and reasoning of ignorance and stupidity, and of responsibility for the obvious impotence of the Unions and for the obvious decline of the condition of the working class. To sum up, in a pamphlet entitled "Two Pages from Roman History" a long list of these miscreant labor leaders is furnished, stating the exact act of betrayal of the working class that they, as the "labor lieutenants" of the capitalist class, are guilty of.

Now, then, only in the sense that "the greater the truth the greater the libel" can these gentry be said to have been "slandered and maligned by the Socialist Labor Party—and such "slandering and maligning" will continue, and must. Capitalism is a plunderer of the working class; the plunder could not be as conveniently practiced without the aid of the labor fakir, that

Bat of the Indian brakes,
Whose pinions fan the wounds she makes,
And soothing thus the dreamer's pains,

helps the capitalist class to drink the life-blood from the workers' veins.

And there goes the second shot through the poodle's master.

## UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I have a great scheme in mind.

UNCLE SAM (with a twinkle in his eye)—One of your usual great schemes?

B. J.—Will you not admit that the Socialist Commonwealth cannot be established for quite a while?

U. S.—I'll admit that.

B. J.—Will you not admit that, in the meantime, it were wise to mitigate suffering?

U. S.—Admitted.

B. J.—Admitting all this, you will be in sympathy with my scheme. It is to set up a co-operative store, in which the workmen affiliated with it can get goods cheap. What say you?

U. S.—Chestnut!

B. J.—Chestnut?

U. S.—Yes; probably not to you; but chestnut, all the same.

B. J.—Isn't it a good thing?

U. S.—If it were it would not be a chestnut. But it is a bad thing in that it is of no effect; and, worse than that in that it plays into the hands of false bourgeois economics; and, still worse, in that, as a rule, there is a petty schemer at the bottom of it, who plans to be the sure, if not the whole sole beneficiary of the alleged good for all. There is ample experience on this subject in this country.

B. J.—You surprise me! What proofs have you got?

U. S.—See here: Sound or Socialist economics prove that under the capitalist system the share of the wealth that labor receives depends upon the supply of and the demand for labor. This evil is a result of the private ownership of the machine. If labor receives one loaf's worth of wealth it is not because of the cheapness of the loaf, or because of any other reason; but because the value of the loaf represents the value of labor under supply and demand.

B. J.—Very well.

U. S.—Now then, this principle implies the other—that the cheapness of things does not determine the amount of wealth labor receives. The cheaper the loaf the lower will be the wage. In other words, the labor question is a question of production, not consumption. Your co-operative store takes up the question from the consumer's standpoint.

B. J.—But are not working men consumers?

U. S.—Surely; but their poverty starts with them as producers, and not as consumers. Seeing that their poverty arises from being a merchandise, the price of which is determined by the law of supply and demand, it is senseless to start relief at the consumer's end. Relief must be started at the producer's end. Enable them to keep all that they produce and their consumption will take care of itself. On the other hand, make goods as cheap as you like, and consumption will not be improved so long as the working class is held in wage-slavery.

B. J.—Well, that may be; but in what way would my co-operative store play into the hands of false economics?

U. S.—In this way: The middle class particularly is howling about prices. It may justly do so. If prices are low it will have so much more money. If wages are one loaf of bread, and the price of the loaf goes down 50 per cent., the working class won't be in pocket the 50 per cent. saved, because its own value will thereby have been reduced, and, accordingly, its wages will fall proportionately. But if the price of the loaf goes down by 50 per cent., the middle class and the capitalist generally will be so much in pocket, because their share of wealth is not determined like that of the workingman. It is for this reason that the middle-class folks are always after cheapness; and it is a cry so delusive that it usually takes in the workers, and thereby draws their attention

(Continued on page 6.)

# CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

## FIRST GUN FIRED IN 1904 CAMPAIGN

To The Daily and Weekly People:—The first gun in the campaign of 1904 was fired here in Hackensack last Sunday. Geo. P. Herrschaft, the S. L. P. candidate for Governor of New Jersey, being the gunner.

The meeting was held in Sachtleben's Hall on Hudson street, at 3 p. m. It rained hard, but despite this fifty men were present.

The speaker talked along the line of Socialism in general, applying its principles to present-day events. In his remarks the speaker laid bare the infamous record of the bogus Socialist party. Among those present was one Blenkstone, of Oradell, this State, who took exception to the speaker's expose of the bogus party. Blenkstone said: "We are all Socialists. Even Russell Sage is a Socialist," but William R. Hearst he declared to be a fakir. Herrschaft called Blenkstone down on the Hearst fakir statement, and said that Hearst published stronger "Socialist" articles in his papers than do the so-called Socialist papers, such as the Appeal to Reason and Worker.

Blenkstone then took back his remarks about Hearst, and included him too in his "Socialist" list, along with "Uncle" Russell. Blenkstone said he had no objection to millionaires, "what we want is everybody to be a millionaire, and under Socialism, as I understand it, all will be millionaires."

Herrschaft then called upon this unique "Socialist" to define Socialism. This Blenkstone was unable to do. One of the audience then asked Blenkstone why the "Socialist" party had been organized when those who started it knew that there was a real Socialist party already in existence. He explained this by saying that a convention of Socialists had met in Indianapolis, to which all Socialists were invited for the purpose of uniting all "Socialist" elements, and that the Socialist Labor Party, bossed by Daniel De Leon, was the only Socialist body that stayed away.

Herrschaft asked if Hearst and Sage were there, and if not, then according to Blenkstone they were not yet all "united." The speaker then gave a history of the Socialist movement of this country, and proved to the satisfaction of the audience that the Socialist Labor Party was organized from the Atlantic to the Pacific, long before Eugene V. Debs thought of organizing his co-operative colony scheme, which he afterward turned into the Social Democracy. That Debs, when asked why he did so, said that the Socialist Labor Party had sown the seed and his party would reap the harvest. The speaker said that the Indianapolis convention, to which Blenkstone had referred, was called by the disgruntled element of the S. L. P., aided and abetted by such as had been kicked out of the party, for the purpose of hiding their weakness. That the bogus party, instead of being a united one, was at loggerheads all over the country.

Blenkstone had no more to say on this line and subsided. We have gained a number of Weekly and Monthly People readers here and hope in time to organize a good Section. Spectator.

Hackensack, N. J., March 3.

## THE SPIRIT THAT WINS.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Things have slackened up so much here that every other man you go to see is out of work or expecting to be; so much so, that the comrades are slow in getting subscriptions. Enclosed, however, you will find five new subscriptions. They were like pulling teeth, but they were landed anyhow.

Things may brighten up since Hanna left Ohio. B. H. Jr.

Hamilton, Ohio, Feb. 25.

## THE TRADES UNION QUESTION IN BOSTON.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—"The cradle of liberty," Faneuil Hall, has lately been red hot on the question of Unionism. The Eliots and Fosters had their say, so the so-called Socialist party decided to have theirs also on Sunday, March 6, with Dr. Gibbs as the speaker. A few comrades of the S. L. P. went there to see if they could have a little to say on the question, too.

I must confess that as far as the main portion of his speech went Gibbs did a good job. If I had not known who was holding the meeting, I would have thought that it was the S. L. P. that was doing so. But like anyone else who uses S. L. P. arguments without the S. L. P. knowledge and tactics, when it came to conclusions and questions, Gibbs went to the bad.

Gibbs pictured the class struggle. He showed the weakness of the pure and simple unions, and the false theories they were based on, together with the useless waste they were making of the ballot. I thought how well the S. T. & L. A. would have fit in here, as Gibbs was saying all this. Finally the speech was ended and the meeting was declared open for questions. Here's where the rub came.

Comrade Greenman asked the speaker that, since he had shown the fallacy of the pure and simple union, what attitude should a Socialist take toward them? This Gibbs pretended not to understand, so Greenman did not get an answer.

I then asked if the A. F. of L. convention did not prove that the A. F. of L. was useless to the working class? Gibbs' answer was "No."

One little Kang asked Gibbs if it would not be a good thing for all Socialists to join the unions (meaning the pure and simple ones), even those of the S. L. P.? Gibbs advised all men to join the union of their craft.

Comrade William Carroll then asked Gibbs: "Why do you permit members of your organization in the trades unions to furnish scabs to take the places of union men, as they did in the Lynn Boot and Shoe Workers' strike?" That ended the questions and the meeting. The chairman tried to choke Carroll off, but Carroll's insistence finally forced them to close the meeting in order to evade answering.

After the meeting was over, and the "Socialists" came out, they attempted to banter Carroll. They asked him regarding the Lynn strike: "Did De Leon tell you so?" Carroll pulled out his "Bible"—a scrap book containing a record of the scabby actions of the "Socialists"—and showed them by clippings from their "own" privately-owned organs and the "Boot and Shoe Workers' Journal" that it was their own party and friends who told him so. This was too much for them; they ceased their banter and sneaked away, crestfallen.

The "Socialists" announced at their Faneuil Hall meeting that on the evening of March 20 they will have a lecture on the Paris Commune. As Comrade De Leon will lecture on the same subject in the afternoon, I am wondering if they will take it down and reel it off at night. Frank J. Callan.

Boston, March 7.

## OPENING THE EYES OF SUPERIOR'S WORKMEN.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—On Sunday, February 28, a successful meeting was held at German Hall by Section Superior, S. L. P.

Comrade Wilkie of Milwaukee, who happened to be in the city, spoke on "The Difference Between the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party."

The audience, numbering about 100 men, seemed to be much interested in the question, which the speaker handled in an admirable manner.

He pointed out how the S. L. P. always stood firm as a revolutionary Party, and how all traitors, who appeared in its ranks, were promptly thrown out.

On the other hand he told how the Social Democratic Party received all these with open arms.

He showed plainly how this party sailed under false colors, as it proved itself to be nothing but a reactionary middle-class party.

After the address the meeting was opened for discussion.

A number of questions were asked and were answered by the speaker.

Several Social Democrats were present, and one of them thought he would correct some of the answers given. He took the floor and made a short speech in which he said that municipal ownership would be a benefit to the laboring class, as it would cheapen water, lights, rides, etc. Referring to another question he said that the value of a commodity was the time put in in making it and he also made some other remarks which showed his utter ignorance on economics. In regard to the two parties he would vote for either one if the other was not on the ballot.

Comrade Wilkie then showed him why municipal ownership would not benefit the working class. That his idea about value was wrong, which he then admitted. Upon the speaker's question which ticket he would vote if both parties were on the ballot, he said he would vote for both if he could. (Great laughter.)

In his closing remarks Comrade Wilkie made an appeal to the workers to join the S. L. P., as the only revolutionary Party.

The meeting lasted three hours and undoubtedly opened the eyes of many. A number of books were sold, and two subscriptions to The Weekly People were taken. R.

Superior, Wis., March 4.

## HARD TIMES IN TACOMA.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—The Tacoma News of March 1, contains the following advertisements:

"Situations Wanted—Female.

"Young lady wishes position with dressmaker. Would work for board. Address N 262, News.

"Situations Wanted—Male.

"Bright boy, 16 years of age, would like place to work for board and go to Lowell school. Best of references. Address Q 186, care News.

"Young man wants to work for room and board. Address N 247, News."

These advertisements speak for themselves in these prosperous times, when, we are told, there are two jobs for every man. Veritas.

Tacoma, Wash., March 1.

## "THE RADICAL BOURGEOISIE" AGAIN.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—In the letter headed, "The Radical Bourgeoisie," Comrade Boland, of Troy, N. Y., stated that to tolerate in the ranks of the S. L. P. men who are not compelled to sell their labor power in the labor market at its market price, is to compromise with the enemy. According to his method of reasoning, men like Lasalle, Bebel and Gureck could not be eligible for membership in our Party, since they are not wage workers in the strictest sense of the word.

It is true that "the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself," but it is also true that this truth was proclaimed by one who, unlike Morgan—who could not understand the Indian until he joined the Iroquois tribes and lived among them for some years—understood the working class thoroughly and contributed greatly toward its uplifting, not being a workingman himself. I refer to Karl Marx.

Scratch a typical bourgeois, who can not understand the working class and its process of development, and you will find either a pig under the waistcoats of Bryan and Hearst, or a mouse in the dinner pails of McKinley and Roosevelt.

Show me a man who volunteered in the revolutionary camp of the militant S. L. P., and I will show you a man who, not looking through the bourgeoisie eye, cannot acquiesce in the present system of legalized robbery. Such a man manifests a consciousness of the integrity of his own manhood and a sense of the duty he owes to humanity. He displays an aspiration to transform this world of struggle and want into a world of peace, happiness and abundance, where an existence worthy of a human being will be provided for every one who performs his duty to society.

Why such men, though not wage slaves for the time being, should not be welcome in the S. L. P. is beyond my comprehension. Isaac Goldman.

Hackensack, N. J., March 6.

## A PROTEST FROM JOHN E. WALLACE.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Referring to the publication in The People of that portion of the minutes of the meeting of D. A. 22, S. T. & L. A., which reads as follows: "Motion made that D. A. 22 notify the G. E. B. of the conduct of Comrades J. E. Wallace and E. D. Lake at the Connolly meeting at Schenectady, and have it referred to the N. E. C. of the S. L. P. for investigation. Delegates Gunn, Gyatt, Passano, Boland and Burnham spoke on the motion, after which a vote was taken. Vote was a tie, and declared lost"—there appears to have taken place one of those mistakes which will occur at certain times and points the necessity of greater care and supervision of such correspondence.

Now I can understand how a recording secretary of a local body of either of the organizations, might hurriedly and thoughtlessly, yet honestly, make up such a report. Likewise I can appreciate the fact how a meeting as described, forgetful of the provisions of the by-laws of the party, or of simple justice in the case of the Alliance, under the guidance of those evilly disposed but at the same time designing, could be held. But I am at a loss to account for its publication in the party organ when I consider your watchfulness and care to prevent any such thing taking place, together with your past position on the enforcement of the laws of the party without fear or favor.

It must be clear to you when your attention is directed to it, the very grave injustice done by the publication of such a character-assassination by innuendo and implication, and its conflict with the provisions of the constitution and by-laws of the party.

Let the mistakes of the party and of its membership be ever so varied and numerous in the minds of others, yet there is one thing secure from criticism. I refer to that wisdom and foresight of the framers of our constitution and by-laws that safeguards and protects its membership from every kind of malicious and false accusations by providing that Sections have jurisdiction over its members, and further by requiring all charges to be presented to the Section in writing and referred to the grievance committee without discussion, and that the duty of the committee is to hear, determine and report the facts to the Section without any action on them. That such plain provisions are to be circumvented and made nil, as in this case, seems ridiculous.

To prevent any recurrence of the same thing affecting others, because you must recognize how easily it would be for those evilly disposed towards a member of the party, or actuated by motives other than the good of the party, by the introduction of resolutions in the Alliances and their publication in the party organ, to do what could not be done in any other manner, and for the purpose of having our officers be more thoughtful as to the kind of report of meetings they make, and that the membership also watch and see that no injustice be done in the manner of transacting their business, I would request the publication of this letter with your explanation.

It seems unnecessary to state that I court any investigation of my words and actions at all times; but I must state that there should be no timbuctooism in connection with it, or use of the party organ to create a false impression in any other way than may be provided by the laws of the party and common decency.

John E. Wallace.

Schenectady, N. Y., March 5.

(When an officially signed report—not a letter, but a report—comes to this office, then the watchfulness necessarily exercised at this end of the line may not extend beyond preventing violations of the party laws apparent on the very face of the report. To extend the power of correcting or suppressing beyond that would be to run the risk of violating the Party's laws. The report in question gave no token, on its face, of any such violations. In such cases there is no choice at this end of the line but to publish the report, leaving the responsibility with the officers who sent it, and with the members of the organization that makes the report to call these officers to account if they did wrong. Any other course on this side would be an interference by this office with the sovereign rights of an organization.—Editor, The People.)

## UP-TO-DATE PROFIT-GRINDING.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Inclosed notice speaks for itself. This second dividend (quarterly), with its first of $2 a share, together with its next of $2.50 (estimated), places this up-to-date grinding capitalist concern on the record of fleecing out of their employes, in the space of three years' time, the enormous sum of $1,200,000. Organized in 1900, with a capitalization of $2,500,000, of which $2,000,000 is issued, this company has an estimated reserve fund of $1,250,000 in cash.

Yours for the cause, E. F.

Duluth, Minn., March 8.

(Enclosure.)

DIVIDEND NOTICE.

To the Stockholders Calumet & Arizona Mining Co.:

At a meeting of the Board of Directors, held this day, there was declared from out the net earnings of the company the second regular quarterly dividend of One (50-100) Dollars per share, the same to be paid March 19, 1904, to the stockholders of record at the closing of the transfer books, March 4, 1904. Stock transfer books will be closed at 4 p. m., March 4, 1904, and re-opened March 21, 1904, at 10 a. m.

Gordon R. Campbell, Secretary.

Calumet, Mich., Feb. 24, 1904.

## "PROSPERITY" IN PITTSBURG.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Under the fake prosperity of Pittsburg, we workers have not much surplus for our own use after keep of the family is taken from the pay envelope, even though myself and two boys are working. Rent has been raised fifteen dollars a month in the past two years, and gas for fuel and light ten dollars a month. Every wage advance given here is more than made up by increased cost of living. J. W.

Pittsburg, Pa., March 6.

## A REFINED METHOD OF BLACKLISTING.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed is form used by Southern Pacific Railroad Company (Atlantic system), to learn antecedents of prospective employes in train service and motive power departments. The employe fills it out in manner indicated.

B. D. K.

Galveston, Tex., March 2.

(Enclosure.)

......, Texas, ....190..

Mr. ............

..........

Dear Sir:

Please furnish Mr. W. G. Van Vleck, Manager, Houston, Texas, my complete record while in the service of your company, which was as follows:

Employed as.......................
From ..................................
To .....................................
At .....................................
Under ...............................

Stating whether or not my conduct and services were satisfactory, and why I left your employ; whether or not I was ever injured, and if so in what manner, and if satisfactory settlement was made; also any other information necessary to enable Mr. Van Vleck to judge as to my sobriety, honesty and ability.

An early reply direct to Mr. Van Vleck, for which stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed, will much oblige; or if you object to answering, please return this letter in attached envelope.

Yours respectfully,

..............

## ST. LOUIS AS A CONVENTION CITY.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Although New York has been nominated by more Sections than any other city wherein to hold our National Convention, I wish to call the attention of the comrades throughout the land to the following facts before they cast their final vote:

1. St. Louis, nominated by Section San Antonio and others, is more centrally located than any other of the nominees, thus giving the extreme West and South the long-denied chance to be fully represented this year.

2. On account of the World's Fair railroad fares will be greatly reduced, especially from the West, on account of greater competition, which will not place too much hardship on the more numerous delegates from there.

3. The St. Louis comrades are active and can and will in conjunction with East St. Louis, Ill., provide for necessary hall and lodging arrangements, and

4. And last, it will put an end to the silly talk of our friends, the enemies, that the S. L. P. is controlled by New York.

Comrades, think it over carefully before you cast your ballots.

Fraternally,

Frank Leitner.

San Antonio, Texas, March 3.

If you recieve a sample copy of this paper, it is an invitation to subscribe.

# LETTER-BOX

## OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

**A. L., KALAMAZOO, MICH.**—1. No mail-carrier receives $1200 a year. The maximum amount at present is $1000. 2. The 3 cent postage was reduced to 2 cents in 1884 or 1885; 2 cents were charged for city letters, and 3 cents for out of town letters.

**ALFRED MOSELY, LONDON, ENG.**—The statement from the N. Y. "Journal of Commerce" that free trade is the "corner-stone of its (the Democratic party's) position" and that the party "can find little else to stand upon," is too sweeping to be correct; and yet there is no little truth in it. The fact is that to understand the tariff attitude of the two large parties one has to begin by sweeping away the cobwebs that both have woven over themselves and each other on the tariff. When that is done the following will be found to be facts in the case:

1. The doctrinaire protectionists are in the Republican party; the doctrinaire free-traders are in the Democratic party.

2. The doctrinaires rule neither party.

3. Both parties raise and both of them lower the tariff according to the concrete interests of those in control. For instance, the Dingley tariff was gentle on certain lumber, because Dingley (Republican "protectionist") imported lumber from Canada; he wanted "free trade" on that; on the other hand no Democratic tobacco leaf-raiser in Democratic Kentucky would listen to anything like a lower tariff, let alone free trade on tobacco; etc.

4. All that the doctrinaires do is to furnish theories which either side uses as occasion may offer.

5. With these qualifications, it is true that the Democratic party has little else to rest on than free trade, that is to say, in that party are grouped the interests who want free trade on more things than the interests grouped in the Republican party want free trade on; and inversely, in the Republican party are grouped the interests who want protection on more things than the interests grouped in the Democratic party want protection on.

**D. D., CHICAGO, ILL.**—You will now see Mitchell standing on his head half the time. With Hanna's death the gentleman is widowed, he is rudderless.

**T. D. T., DOVER, N. H.**—"The Handwriting on the Wall" is undoubtedly a Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party publication. It is crazy enough, visionary enough, superficial enough and loud enough for that.

**M. M., SEATTLE, WASH.**—The modern garb is neither artistic nor wholesome. And yet a person would be uselessly shocking people if he were to go about in Greek drapery. It is just so in other matters of external form. The part of wisdom is, in such matters, to conform to usage. The Socialist's task is arduous enough on fundamentals, he need not make it harder by a conduct that exposes him to the charge of eccentricity. Laws are often in the nature of time-tables, and time-tables often are ridiculously inconvenient. Would you go on foot rather than submit? The ridiculous laws will drop with the public ownership of the means of production. But the private ownership of the means of production will not drop by dodging ridiculous laws.

**W. W., NEW YORK**—There is "The Worker," why does Dr. Halpern not reproduce in it a photographic copy of his citizen papers—if he is a citizen and has the right of the suffrage? What is he afraid of? Can a Social Democrat be afraid?

**ORGANIZER SECTION MILWAUKEE, WIS.**—Your notices always reach here on Wednesdays—too late. Take note of notice on the last page of the Weekly.

**E. H., NEW YORK.**—Both questions fall outside of the province of this column, and within the province of the N. E. C.

**C. R. H., CAMBRIDGE, MASS.**—Have not yet had time to verify your corrected references. For the present will simply state that, taking the passages from Marx' 3d volume as you quote them, we consider it a non sequitur to conclude that they overthrow or even affect the principle that labor produces all values; and would furthermore say, in a general way, that such conclusions sound in our mind's ear very much like the conclusions of Biblicists, who, every time astronomers themselves discover an error in the calculations concerning the sun's distance from the earth, etc., set up the cry: "The theory that the sun does not move around the earth is THEREFORE wrong." The theory that labor produces all values (exchange) does not depend upon the accurate ascertaining of remoter details, any more than the theory of the earth's rotation around the sun depends upon the accurate ascertaining of distances, etc., as above. If you think differently should like to see your reasoning. It will be some time, anyhow, before we shall have time to carefully look up and consider the references; the pressure of work is great at this office, and the way in which the volume called "3 Vol. of Marx" was compiled after his death renders verification more than arduous.

**O. F. D., WEBSTER CITY, IA.**—Consideration of your proposition will have to be postponed until we understand your terms. As to the term "Christian Socialism"—ever since His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. pronounced himself a Christian Socialist, or in favor of Christian Socialism, while adhering to his "Index Expurgatorious," which contains long lists of books forbidden to be read under pain of excommunication, and adhering to the theory that the workingman must be satisfied with the station in life assigned to him by God—ever since, we think we know what "Christian Socialism" means; but we are wholly in the dark regarding the meaning of "Christian Economics." What does it mean?

**M. V. B., PITTSBURGH, PA.**—The serial story "The Pilgrim's Shell" began with the issue of the DAILY PEOPLE of last Jan. 3 (WEEKLY, January 9); it will close with the issue of DAILY of next April 3 (WEEKLY, April 9). Others will follow.

**SECTION SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH**—The Municipal Platform of Section Braddock, Pa., has been criticised by so many other Party members in these columns, that we must shut down on further criticisms—subject, of course, to contrary orders from the N. E. C., to whom you are hereby referred, if you should still wish your criticism to be published. As far as the criticism itself is concerned, it is first rate.

**G. E. W., HEDLEY, B. C.**—1. Thanks for the booklet of poetry. 2. You beg the question. Nobody will question the correctness of the principle that it is wrong to fight Socialists. Does THE PEOPLE do so? That opens the question whether the folks it fights are Socialists. This is the point. Now, if you so desire, you will receive space (within bounds) to show that the people whom we have charged and convicted—of fusing with Dems. and Reps.—of echoing the lies of the labor fakirs concerning the Union's power to raise wages—of selling out to capitalist brewers for the sake of advertisements as did the Volkszeitung—of allowing the one thing that they can make their common property, their press, to remain private property—of slandering the S. L. P.—of admitting to membership in their ranks men expelled from the S. L. P. for breach of trust as Carey—etc., etc.—show that these people are Socialists. When that point is settled, there will be no difficulty as to conclusions.

**S. O. S., BROOKLYN, N. Y.**—The Bebel's "Woman" that "The Worker" is offering as a prize is not the work that the S. L. P. has just brought out. It is an old and miserable translation of a very old German edition, incomparably inferior to the latest edition of which the Party's edition is the translation, and more than one part of which Bebel found it well to drop as wrong in ethnic and historic theory and rework in his new edition. Don't be taken in. The Volkszeitung corporation handles Bebel as it does Bermuda potatoes, beer and other groceries—it sells the goods and it sells the purchaser.

**L. H., ROCHESTER, N. Y.**—1. General Gallifet received the name of "Butcher" on account of the leading part he took in butchering the innocent communists in 1871. For the other questions we need the Almanach of Gotha or Statesmen's Manual which we have not yet for this year. As to your article, it has not yet been passed upon.

**D. G. M., DENVER, COLO.**—The matter was treated editorially. It was in its issue of last November 15 that the Volkszeitung published under the editorial headline "What must be must be" a letter of one of its cronies pronouncing the Irish corrupt to the marrow. But that is nothing new. Allusion has been often made in these columns to the evidences of that corporation's repulsiveness and conceitedness against the English speaking population of the country.

**C. C., NEW YORK**—That matter could be settled in the same way that we have been suggesting that the Social Democrat Dr. Halpern settle the question of his citizenship and of his having abjured the Czar of Russia. If the distinguished Mr. Lupaloff, or his friends, claims that the English translation from the Russian or Yiddish originals of his charming correspondence with Dr. Buna was incorrect as it appeared in THE PEOPLE, and that this translation does him injustice, why in the name of Moses and the Prophets do they not publish their translation in "The Worker"? They surely can't dodge out by saying the matter is not worth the trouble. They certainly are taking a deal of trouble going around saying the translation was false. Or can it be that even these gentlemen and ladies have learned caution, and that they know THE PEOPLE would quickly nail their false translation by publishing photographs of the originals? The fact is the whole set, however lost to the sense of common decency, feel badly caught and exposed

**T., NEW YORK**—Some more Russian papers have come. They now seem to come regularly. You might send regularly for them.

**J. W., NEW YORK**—Why! Showing the white feather! Is it not war you Volkszeitung Kangaroos wanted? Well, you have war, and the S. L. P. will not let up, until it has driven the whole pack of you whither your late associates, Casson, Gordon, Martha M. Avery, Goldstein, etc., have preceded you, and where all of you belong—in the camp of the open betrayers of the working class. You people made the mistake of your lives when, judging the S. L. P. by yourselves, you thought it made up of poltroons, and believed it could be howled and slandered down. You barked up the wrong tree. You will yet be whipped out of the sacred Temple of American Labor which you have been desecrating with your strumpetry.

**G. O., NEW YORK**—Please call.

**F. B., ANN ARBOR, MICH.; A. G. B., DETROIT, MICH.; J. Y., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.; S. T. G., CHICAGO, ILL.; W. O. O., CLEVELAND, O.; H. N., BROOKLYN, N. Y.**, matter received.

## BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

The severity of the winter has broken, but as yet, this has resulted in only a slight activity of our workers. Two hundred and thirty-eight subscriptions to the Weekly People were received for the week ending March 12, and suscription cards were bought to the amount of $84.75.

A great deal more than this must be done. Our press must be given the largest possible circulation as early as possible, that the results may be harvested in the coming campaign. This work has been done by a very few, comparatively, of our members. Let everybody take it up. Before the winter settled down a mark of over 500 subscriptions per week was reached; now that spring is breaking we must, in a few weeks, break that record.

Comrade H. Weiss of Brooklyn, who last season regularly secured from five to fifteen subscriptions per week, last week sent us fourteen Weeklies, and also $20 to pay for eighty subscription cards, which he has set himself to selling.

Comrade G. A. Jennings of East St. Louis, another steady worker, who picks up subscriptions on the street car or in the street or wherever he meets workingmen, sends in five Weekly subscriptions.

Comrade Jacob Breuer of Hartford remitted with eleven, and Reinstein and Cline of Buffalo with nine. These comrades are just ordinary S. L. P. workingmen of various trades, no more particularly fitted to get subscriptions than a majority of our members are. The reason they are successful in securing subscriptions is that they take advantage of their opportunities. We have learned to depend upon them to turn in subscriptions almost every week.

A comrade of Philadelphia sends in one Weekly subscription for six months, and says: "I long ago concluded to solicit only thinkers as subscribers." This comrade, as well as any others to whom this may apply, would do well to secure the subscriptions of all working men who are sufficiently interested in the welfare of themselves or their class to subscribe. We must not wait to carefully study the individual psychology of every men before we place Socialist literature in his hands. Every sane workingman has his place in our movement, and even if he may not be a "thinker" the paper will do no harm. He has paid for it and it may fall in the hands of a thinker. Don't miss an opportunity to get a subscription.

The agent of The People at Buffalo sends in $10 for suscription cards, and writes as follows: "Enclosed you will find order blank and check for some. Please send them at once. The boys of Buffalo are up and at it."

Let all comrades fall in li

Five or more subscriptions were sent in by the following: R. Goodwin, Los Angeles, Cal., 14; D. A. Reed, Huntington, Ark., 10; 34th A. D., N. Y., 10; Section St. Louis, Mo., 8; Ferd Hulskamp, Indianapolis, Ind., 6; Jas. Trainor, Syracuse, N. Y., 5; A. Francis, N. Y., 5; and J. H., Brooklyn, N. Y. 5.

## PEORIA'S TOWN TICKET.

### S. L. P. Will Work for a Good Vote Without Sacrifice of Principles.

Peoria, Ill.—For our township elections, to be held April 5, Section Peoria has put up the following ticket: Town Clerk, Fritz Lichtsinn; Town Collector, Jos. Koller; Town Assessor, Geo. Schlag; Assistant Supervisors, Fred. Schieweck, Jas. L. Short, Conrad Kuhn; Highway Commissioner, Harlan W. Clark.

For the Aldermanic city election, to be held April 19, Carl Koechlin was put up for Alderman in Eighth Ward.

We will do our utmost to get a good vote withotu sacrificing principle.

Carl Koechlin, Organizer.

# OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 206½ Dundas street, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

## ILLINOIS S. E. C.

Meeting of the Illinois State Executive Committe held February 8th, with Wm. Veal in the chair. Surber and Yocum absent and excused. Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

Communications—From A. Lingenfeltor and declining the nomination as deletor and decling the nomination as delegate to the National Convention. The S. E. C. voted not to accept the declination. Organizer was instructed to get further information regarding solicitor, and matter to be continued under head of unfinished business. From Section Peoria protesting against the reduction of delegates to National Convention. From Section Chicago (too late for last session) requesting the reduction of delegates to National Convention from 5 to 3. Organizer was instructed that in submitting the vote to call for a vote on 6 of the nominees—3 to be delegates; 3, alternates—the 3 receiving the highest number of votes to be the regular delegates; the 3 next highest to be alternates and to submit the matter to the State Convenion for a final decision, recommending that as many be sent as finances could be provided for, selecting the nominees receiving the highest number of votes. From Section East St. Louis asking whether the proposition to bring up matter intended for National Convention would interfere with the usual manner. The committee decided that it would not, the purpose being to simplify matters ann, if possible, go represented to the National Convention as a State organization in this as well as in other ways. From California S. E. C. account of trial and expulsion of Charles Pierson from the S. L. P. Action was endorsed and organizer was instructed to write Pierson that our contract with him is cancelled. The case of Charles Pierson will be explained at the State Convention. From Section Springfield with names of members in good standing.

From Austin Alley Staunton, member-at-large.

A proposition was submitted by Section East St. Louis that the S. E. C. get up a circular letter and distribute same for the purpose of building up our Party Press. On motion, Section East St. Louis was appointed to draft a letter and submit it at the next meeting of this committee.

Financial Report—State Fund—Balance on hand, February 14, $5.07. Receipts from Section Madison County $6.00; from Section Peoria, $10; from Section Duquoin, $5.00. Total, $26.07. No expenditures.

G. A. Jenning, Rec. Sec.

## N. Y. S. E. C.

Meeting of February 20, in Daily People Building. Adam Moren, chairman. Kihn, Ferguson and Wegener absent without excuse.

Minutes of previous meeting not read. Dispensed with.

Nominations for State delegates to National Convention were received from Sections Troy and New York.

Communications from Section Onondago County regarding financial standing. Financial secretary's answer endorsed. From John C. Kennedy, Ithaca, N. Y., on prospects of organization work. Financial secretary's answer endorsed. From Section West Brighton returning Corregan Appeal Fund list. Filed.

Secretary was instructed to issue call for per capita tax to defray expense of State delegates to National Convention; also to send out nominations for the latter for general vote.

Adjournment followed.

J. Ebert, Secretary.

## OHIO STATE CONVENTION.

Sections and members at large in Ohio: The vote on the proposition, "Shall a State Convention be held this year?" closes on March 28. All returns must be in the hands of the secretary by that date.

James Rugg,
1925 Osage street.

## BOSTON COMMUNE LECTURE.

Daniel De Leon will lecture in Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton street, Boston, Sunday, March 20, 1904, at 3 p. m.

Subject: "The Paris Commune of '71 and the Lesson that it Teaches the American Working-Class to-day."

Admission, 10 cents.

## WALSH IN PATERSON.

A free public lecture will be held under the auspices of Passaic County Section S. L. P., at Helvetia Hall, on Sunday, March 20, at 2:30 p. m. Subject, "The Growth of Political Parties in the United States," by Timothy Walsh, of Brooklyn.

FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS
An Old and Well-Tried Remedy.
MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP has been used for over SIXTY YEARS by MILLIONS of MOTHERS for their CHILDREN WHILE TEETHING, WITH PERFECT SUCCESS. IT SOOTHES the CHILD, SOFTENS the GUMS, ALLAYS all PAIN, CURES WIND COLIC, and is the best remedy for DIARRHOEA. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for
MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP,
AND TAKE NO OTHER KIND.
Twenty-five Cents a Bottle.

## THE COMING FESTIVAL.

### Arrangements Completed to Make It a Grand Success.

At the last regular meeting of the Entertainment Committee arrangements were completed for the March 20th festival, to take place at Grand Central Palace, New York, for the benefit of The Daily People. The programme appears on the last column of this page.

The Entertainment Committee wishes to call your attention to the fact that Fritzsche's Boston Band is composed of the finest musicians of the country. Most of them have performed with Sousa for years, and are under contract to appear with him at the Metropolitan Opera House in April.

It will be worth your while to come and bring your friends along. This concert will not only surpass all former affairs of the Party, but it will be without a doubt beyond and above anything ever seen and heard at a workmen's gathering.

The vaudeville performance will follow the concert, after a very brief intermission; and, as usual, the best talent obtainable will perform for the amusement of the young and old.

The restaurant will again be managed by the Woman's Branch, and patrons may expect to receive good, wholesome food for little cost. Those who partook of the food served at our last affair will, no doubt, recall with appreciation the quality and the price. For those who know nothing about it, we may say, "it simply can't be beat."

Poehland's Orchestra has been engaged to furnish the music for the ball, which is to take place after 8 o'clock.

All this, remember, comrades and sympathizers, is to be obtained for only 25 cents, and 10 cents hat check.

The Entertainment Committee wishes to also call your attention to the fair, under the auspices of the Women's Auxiliary. This fair cannot be made a success unless we have the hearty co-operation of every member in the Party, and their friends. Every object donated by the comrades will be disposed of in a most advantageous manner, the material result of which is to go towards strengthening the right arm of the Party, namely, The Daily and Weekly People.

Send presents to L. Abelson, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

The Entertainment Committee.

## GENERAL COMMITTEE, MASSACHUSETTS.

Regular meeting of General Committee, Massachusetts S. L. P. was held in Boston, on February 28, and called to order by the chairman, Frank Keefe.

Roll call showed Berry, Keefe, Dolan, Young, Fitzgerald, Greenman and Sweeney present, and Engelhardt and Neilsen absent.

Records of meeting of February 14 read and approved.

Credentials of A. Mortensen, delegate from Section Somerville, accepted.

Communications: From J. O'Fihelly, Abington, filed. From Daniel De Leon, on meeting of March 20, in Paine Memorial Hall, stating that he will come, and on what conditions; accepted, and action of Secretary endorsed in securing the speaker. From Section Boston, stating that it cannot afford to reduce the hall rent for General Committee at this time; filed. From Kuhn, receipting for registered letter sent N. E. C.; filed. From Lowell; filed. From National Agitation Committee, on coming Presidential campaign, sending tickets, etc.; filed. Secretary to send out tickets to Section. From Worcester, ordering stamps, sending nominations for delegates to National Convention, etc.; attended to by Secretary; nominations and correspondence filed. From D. J. Weare, Worcester, sending $1 for Section fund; accepted and filed. From C. W. Doyle, Webster, Mass.; filed. From Adams; referred to Secretary, he to write the Organizer on the matter. From Holyoke, ordering stamps, sending list of nominees for National Convention, asking for cancellation of auxiliary debt and protesting against the practice of the S. E. C. sending State leaflets to Sections not ordering the same, etc.; accepted; auxiliary debt cancelled, rest of the matter laid on table for one month.

Agitation Committee report that Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton street, Boston, has been secured for Sunday, March 20; that Comrade De Leon will be present and lecture on "The Paris Commune of '71; the Lesson It Teaches the American Working Class To-day;" that the tickets and advertising have been attended to.

Auditing Committee (special) make final report on Henley benefit, and recommend that Sections Everett, Cambridge and Lynn either return to the Secretary of General Committee the cash or tickets which they hold. Everett holds five, Lynn 41, Cambridge 16 tickets. These Sections will take notice of this matter, and report at once.

Report of Special Auditing Committee accepted and account closed.

Ordered, that the matter of securing stenographer for De Leon meeting be left in hands of Agitation Committee, they to act with Labor News Co. in the matter.

Michael T. Berry, Secy.
General Committee, Mass. S. L. P.
99½ Chestnut street, Lynn, Mass.

## SALEM, MASS., ATTENTION!

A meeting of the S. L. P. will be held in Comrade Brennan's house, 4 Warren street, on Tuesday, March 29. Comrades, be sure to attend.

Thos. F. Brennan, Organizer.

## THE DAILY PEOPLE HOME-STRETCH FUND.

UNDER THIS HEAD WILL BE PUBLISHED ALL DONATIONS MADE FOR THE LAST FINAL EFFORT TO CLEAR UP THE BALANCE OF THE DEBT ON THE DAILY PEOPLE PRINTING PLANT. THAT BALANCE, ON NOVEMBER 15, WAS $4,643, PLUS INTEREST. WATCH AND SEE HOW THE FIGURES OF THE "HOME-STRETCH FUND" GET UP TO IT.

| | |
|---|---|
| Previously acknowledged | $3,673.76 |
| R. C. Kennedy, La Crosse, Wis. | 1.00 |
| M. J. Ryan, Winona, Minn. | 3.00 |
| G. H. Campbell, Winona, Minn. | 1.00 |
| Constant Gernes, Wilson P. O., Minn. | 1.00 |
| Section Hamilton, Ont., Can., per F. Martin, Organzer | 7.00 |
| O. K. H., Reading, Pa | 75 |
| O. Beldner, Jamestown, N. Y. | 50 |
| Sec. Lawrence, Mass., per Vandoorne | 2.00 |
| J. G. Wilson, Minneapolis, Minn. | 1.00 |
| L. Hang, Cleveland, Ohio | 2.00 |
| W. H. Purnell, Syracuse, N. Y. | 2.00 |
| F. Joss, Syracuse, N. Y. | 1.00 |
| R. Joss, Syracuse, N. Y. | 1.00 |
| C. Joss, Syracuse, N. Y. | 1.00 |
| James Trainor, Syracuse, N. Y. | 1.00 |
| J. Kinnie, Syracuse, N. Y. | 1.00 |
| Henry Huth, Louisville, Ky. | 2.00 |
| Henry Schmidt, Louisville, Ky. | 1.00 |
| F. Werlich, Paterson, N. J. | 50 |
| A. Gilhaus, City | 1.00 |
| Sec. Stamford, Conn. | 1.00 |
| A. Jonsen, St. Paul, Minn. | 50 |
| H. Carstensen, St. Paul, Minn. | 25 |
| S. Johnson, St. Paul, Minn. | 25 |
| Total | $3,706.51 |

## SPECIAL FUND.

(As per circular letter of Sept. 3, 1901.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Previously acknowledged | $8,353.97 |
| F. Brauckmann, City | 4.50 |
| C. Moonelis, City | 50 |
| Seventh A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y. | 1.25 |
| Twelfth A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y. | 50 |
| W. Flynn, Hoboken, N. J. | 2.00 |
| A. Herschmann, Hoboken, N. J. | 3.00 |
| A. Good, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 50 |
| J. Schwartz, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 25 |
| A. Ruhnke, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 25 |
| J. Ebert, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 50 |
| Socialist Labor Club Brooklyn, (loan certificate) | 20.00 |
| Total | $8,387.22 |

## D. A. 22, S. T. & L. A.

Regular meeting of D. A. 22, held at headquarters of Section Watervliet, S L. P., February 28, Comrade Passano, chairman, Comrade Burnham vice-chairman.

Credentials of L. A. 308 and Section Rensselaer County were read, and on motion accepted and delegates seated.

Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted as read.

Organizer gave report of agitation meeting held at Schenectady February 18. Moved report of Organizer be accepted, and report taken up under new business. Motion carried.

Auditing Committee rendered report, and suggested that at each meeting all money received and expended be entered on the books. Report rendered showed receipts $24, expenses $26.27; stamps on hand, 20; cash deficit, $2.27. On motion, report was accepted.

Delegates of L. A. 308, L. A. 351 and L. A. 337 gave reports of their respective locals. Comrade Gunn, of L. A. 337, made an explanation of the discussion which took place at Connolly meeting at Schenectady. Comrades Passano, Boland and Corcoran also spoke on the discussion which took place at Connolly meeting at Schenectady.

Committee on Connolly meetings reported they are arranging to hold a meeting at Albany, N. Y.

Report of L. A. 337, pertaining to the condition of that local, was referred to new business.

Motion made that delegates of L. A. 308 notify their local that comrade Johnson, newly-elected delegate, failed to attend meeting of D. A., and find out excuse. Motion carried.

Motion made that D. A. 22 notify the G. E. B. of the conduct of Comrades J. E. Wallace and E. D. Lake at the Connolly meeting at Schenectady, and have it referred to the N E. C. of the S. L. P. for investigation. Delegates Gunn, Gyatt, Passano, Boland and Burnham spoke on the motion, after which a vote was taken. Vote was tie, and declared lost.

Moved, that the condition of D. A. 22 be referred to the G. E. B., and Secretary be instructed to write full particulars. Motion to adjourn carri

C. B. Gyatt,
Secretary D. A. 22.

SOCIAL AND DANCE
To be given by the
S. L. P., Belleville, Ill.
—AT—
Huff's Hall
—ON—
Saturday Eve, March 19, '04
ADMISSION, 15C. LADIES FREE.

## GENERAL ORGANIZER'S FUND.

To All District and Local Alliances, Members at Large and Sympathizers of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance Greeting:—

The following amounts have been contributed to date establishing a fund for placing an S. T. & L. A. organizer in the field as soon as possible.

Members and friends are urged to increase the amount collected.

Address all contributions to John J. Kinneally, General Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

| | |
|---|---|
| Previously acknowledged | $120.00 |
| L. A. 263, Seattle, Wash. | 4.00 |
| L. A. 325, Los Angeles, Cal. | 3.00 |
| S. L. P. members, Louisville, Ky. | 2.40 |
| E. R. Murphy, Braddock, Pa. | 50 |
| S. R. Rager, Braddock, Pa. | 50 |
| John Donahue N. Y. City | 25 |
| John J. Kinneally, N. Y. City | 25 |
| Total up to date | $139.90 |

## THE WEAVERS' STRIKE.

All money will be acknowledged in The Daily and Weekly People. Send contributions to John J. Kinneally, Gen. Sec., S. T. & L. A., 2-6 New Reade street, New York, or Sam J. French, care of Daily People, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

Amos E. Handy,
Rec. Sec. L. A. 392, S. T. L. A.,
North Vassalboro, Maine.

| | |
|---|---|
| Previously acknowledged | $18.50 |
| Section Toronto, Can., S. L. P. | 2.00 |
| O. Bohl, New York City | 3.00 |
| Peter Hanson, Glassport, Pa. | 1.00 |
| L. A. 307, Hartford, Conn. | 3.00 |
| L. A. 396, Skowhegan, Me. | 13.50 |
| 32d and 33d A. D. S. L. P., N. Y. City | 2.00 |
| Total to date | $43.00 |

Secretary of L. A. 396, Skowhegan, reports having also sent twenty-one dollars direct to the strikers.

## MILWAUKEE COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

Section Milwaukee, Wis., S. L. P., has arranged a Commune Celebration to be held at Bohemian Turn Hall, Twelfth and Vine streets, Sunday, March 20, at 3 p. m. An excellent programme has been arranged, consisting of five living pictures, recitations, songs by Socialistiche Liedertafel, several musical numbers, addresses from out of town comrades in English and German, and a ball in the evening. Every reader of The People in this vicinity should be present as the proceeds of the affair will be used for the national campaign fund. Admission until 6 o'clock, 10 cents; after that hour, 25 cents a person.

## CLEVELAND COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

On Sunday, March 20, 3 p. m., Section Cleveland, Ohio, will hold its annual Commune celebration at Germania Hall on Erie street. The committee on programme, consisting of Comrades Koeppel and Hauser, are confident that arrangements so far consummated promise an enjoyable as well as interesting and instructive programme, to be followed by grand ball.

All readers of The People are cordially invited to attend, together with their friends, this annual affair, which is growing in popularity every year. Tickets can be procured in advance from Party members at twenty-five cents each, admitting couple. At the gate the price is fifty cents.

The Organizer.

## Section Calender

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

New York County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Kings County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn.

General Committee—First Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

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Six complete volumes of THE WEEKLY PEOPLE, beginning with January, 1898, ending December, 1903.

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LADIES' AND GENTS' DINING ROOM
MEALS SERVED AT ALL HOURS
EVERYTHING IN SEASON
Imported Wines, Liquors and Cigars
a specialty.
No. 9 RAILROAD PLACE
SOUTH NORWALK, CONN.

## CLEVELAND'S CELEBRATION.

### Of the Commune—A Splendid Programme Arranged.

Section Cleveland, S. L. P., will hold its annual Commune Celebration tomorrow, Sunday, March 20, at Germania Hall, on Erie street, near Central avenue. The following elaborate programme will be rendered:

Overture ............Boehm's Orchestra
Bergmannsloos' "The Miner's Fate"
(German choir), Soc. Liedertafel.
Tenor solo—"My Sweetheart When a Boy" ..................Morgan
Mr. Robert Walker.
German poem—"The Paris Commune"
J. Nohge.
Alto solo—a "Memories" ....... Parks
b "Four Leaf Clover"..Combs
Mrs. Lillian Schaus.
German address........Richard Koeppel
Marseillaise ..........Bohm's Orchestra
English address .........John D. Goerke
Baritone solo..."Sing Me to Sleep"
Greene
Mr. Richard Valentin.
"Wer ist frei?" ("To Be Free")
(German choir), Soc. Liedertafel.
"Revolution," English version of Freiligrath's famous poem.
Paul Dinger.
Quartette—Selected....Schiller Quartette
"Im Zeitung's Bureau"
(What Happens in a Newspaper Office.)
German musical farce in one act.

Cast.

| | |
|---|---|
| Schneidig, editor | E. Hauser |
| Schnueffel, reporter | R. Koeppel |
| Gottlieb Thraentopf | L. Haug |
| Karl Obst, athlete | R. Boehm |
| August, a butcher boy | I. Bretz |
| Rosalie Zwiebel | Mrs. H. Alzuhn |
| Anastasius Spargel | A. Gessener |

Great tableau:
a "The Last Barrikade.."
b "The Dream of the Fallen Communards."

As the performance will start promptly at 3 p. m. the early arrival of all guests is requested. Tickets in advance are 25 cents a couple, at the door, 50 cents. Tickets at the advance sale price can be had from all members of Section and Socialistische Liedertafel, also at Volksfreund office, 193 Champlain street, corner Seneca, third floor. Grand ball after the performance.

## COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

Commune celebration and tenth anniversary of Section Louisville, Ky., Socialist Labor Party, will be held at Beck's Hall, Jefferson and First streets, Sunday, March 20, at 8 p. m. An excellent programme has been arranged by the amusement committee, consisting of recitations, songs, several musical numbers and an English and German address.

Every friend and sympathizer should make it his or her business to be present, as the proceeds of the entertainment will be used for the campaign fund of Kentucky State Committee and Section Louisville. Admission, 15 cents.

The Committee.

## DETROIT COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

Section Detroit, Mich., will celebrate the anniversary of the Paris Commune by a concert to be held at Mannebach's (upper) Hall, 273 Gratiot avenue, on Sunday, March 20, at 2.30 p. m.

1. Selection. Wiedoeft's Family Orchestra.
2. Recitations.
3. Song.
4. Address—Comrade F. A. Bohn, Ann Arbor, Mich.
5. Recitations.
6. Marsellaise—Wiedoeft's Family Orchestra.

Admission free. Everybody invited.

## ST. LOUIS COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

Celebration of the thirty-second anniversary of the Paris Commune, under the auspices of Section St. Louis, Socialist Labor Party, at Dewey Hall, Broadway and Shenandoah street, Sunday, March 20, 2.30 p. m.

Programme.

S. L. P. Tactics. Wm. Cox.
Lessons of the Paris Commune. Mrs. Olive M. Johnson.
Necessity of Working-Class Organization. Philip Veal.
Internationality of the Working Class. Chas. M. Johnson.
Musical Selections. Max Biell.

All workingmen invited to attend. Admission free.

## THE WORKINGWOMAN.

(Continued from page 1.)

which makes it possible for them and their whole class to live a hundred times better by "leisure" than it is for the rest of humanity to do in spite of the tremendous amount of useful work it performs.

The working women might as well let the "leisure" ladies know that they are onto their game and decline to accept their "aid" and advice. Justice, not "higher wages" or "money" is the most essential ingredient of happiness among an industrious people. Only when the workers receive the FULL PRODUCT OF THEIR LABOR—which they will receive only under Socialism—shall they experience a happiness worthy of the name. If the "leisure class" then should choose to continued in the leisure business it will most certainly have an opportunity to themselves test their gratis happiness prescription to the workers, viz., "contentment of mind and sweetness of spirit."

B. Eide.
Red Wing, Minn.

# FRITZSCHE'S BOSTON BAND

O. FRITZSCHE, CONDUCTOR,
MOSTLY COMPOSED OF THE MUSICIANS FROM SOUSA'S BAND, NOW DISENGAGED.
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF SECTION NEW YORK S. L. P., FOR THE DAILY PEOPLE
At GRAND CENTRAL PALACE
Lexington avenue, between 43d and 44th streets.
Sunday, March 20, 1904, 3 p. m.

CONCERT PROGRAMME, 3 P. M.

Soloists: Mr. Emil Koennicke, cornet; Mr. Franz Hell, fluegelhorn; Mr. Thomas B. Senia, xylophone.

1. The Queen of Sheba, Festival Procession, Gounod.
2. Overture: Stradella, Flotow.
3. Fantasia: Faust, Gounod.
4. Cornet solo, Souvenir de Prog., Hoch. Mr. Emil Koennicke, America's greatest cornetist.
5. Jolly Fellows, Valse, Vollstedt.
6. Hands Across the Sea, Sousa.
   King Gold.
   Samoset, characteristic piece.
   Sempa Unitas March, new (dedicated to Section New York, S. L. P.), Fritzsche
7. Xylophone solo, Murmuring Waves, Senia. Mr. Thomas B. Senia, Boston's favorite.
8. Nibelungen Fanfaren, Wagner.
   La Palona, Yudis.
9. Be hut Dich Gott: from The Trumpeter of Sakkingen, Nessler. Fluegelhorn solo, Mr. Franz Hell, the world's greatest fluegelhorn performer.
10. Overture, William Tell, Rossini.

VAUDEVILLE PROGRAMME, 5 P. M

TWO ZOELLERS,
Sensational Novelty Act.

LA BELL,
Comic Juggler.

THREE AURORA BROTHERS
Comedy Act.

METROPOLITAN VITAGRAPH—Series of moving pictures.

BALL AT 8 P. M.
Music by Professor O. Poehland.

TICKET, - admitting one, - 25 CENTS
....HAT CHECKS TEN CENTS....

TICKETS CAN BE HAD AT THE FOLLOWING PLACES:
Excelsior Literary Society, 235 East Broadway, New York; Headquarters of the 14th Assembly District, 177 First avenue, New York; Headquarters of the 16th Assembly District, 331 East 4th street, New York; Headquarters of the 28th Assembly District, 501 East 82nd st., New York; Daily People Office, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

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is the German official organ of the Socialist Labor Party... Readers of The People, in touch with German workingmen, should endeavor to interest these in the paper and gain them for subscribers ... Subscription price ... Per year, $1.00; Six months, 50c; Three months, 25c .... SEND FOR SAMPLE COPY
193 CHAMPLAIN STREET, CLEVELAND, O.

AGENTS WANTED!

## COX-COLLINS DEBATE.

(Continued from page 3)

Time was called, Collins arose. "Well, well! Ha, ha! Some of these things may be true," he began, but he made no attempt at replying. He spent his twenty minutes slinging mud at the S. L. P., about the S. T. & L. A. scabbing it on the Cigarmakers and Machinists, the De Leon-Sovereign affair, etc.

Had Comrade Cox had twenty minutes more Collins and his little bunch of Kanglets would have sought the door and the stairs. Cox had but five minutes and could not reply to his mud slinging, except to make clear that the cigar scabbing referred to was simply a strike inaugurated not for less hours or wages or better conditions, but for recognition of the International Cigarmakers' Union in an open shop, and the S. T. & L. A. men refused to strike for the recognition of a scabby organization; and that Sovereign at one time was a straight man, "like you, Mr. Collins, were, when you was in the S. L. P., but now you are not. De Leon supported him when he was straight and turned him down when he was crooked, like the S. L. P. did you."

Then Cox made the following recapitulation:

First, the Social Democratic party was organized when there was, and had been, a revolutionary organization in existence eight years, hence they are a counterfeit.

Second, they are party of fusion, proven so by election documents, i. e., original ballots; and also by evidence in abundance from within the party itself.

Third, the party is controlled by a lot of fakirs. Proof: bountiful from the A. F. of L. convention reports, as compared with the evidence from within of the double trades union policy.

Fourth, the party makes common cause with the middle class (the evidence comes from within), a class that has always betrayed the working class; "hence," Cox reaffirmed, "your organization is also dividing the working class and is therefore a capitalist organization."

Press Committee,
Section Madison Co., S. L. P.

## UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

(Continued from page 4)

away from where the shoe pinches THEM and causes them to fight the economic battles of their exploiters. To talk "co-operative store" is to talk "cheapness;" to talk "cheapness" is to give up the law of wages or to darken it; to do that is to play into the hands of the enemy.

B. J.—And you say this sort of thing has been tried before?

U. S.—Yes. Often, after disastrous strikes, the broken-down skates of labor leaders have set up these "co-operative" affairs. We have seen "co-operative" mines, "co-operative" laundries, "co-operative" shirt, cigarette and other factories, and all have gone to smash—the schemer back at the bottom of them he alone profiting, while the trepanned innocents remained plucked. Wash your hands of your "great scheme." It is great only in its stupidity and its crookedness.

STURZ PIANO.
Sold on Easy Terms Direct from
FACTORY WAREROOMS.
AT 142 LINCOLN AVE.
134th St., Block East of Third Avenue.